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A HISTORY
OF
THE MODERN WORLD
1815—1910

T. C.
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BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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To

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

BY

HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

THE present book has no pretensions to originality or research. It is a plain account of the political events of ninety-five years, more than seventy of which have passed during the writer's lifetime and nearly seventy within his recollection. During thirty years spent in teaching history at the University, there are few of the occurrences here narrated about which he has not lectured or written, or which he has not discussed with students. These lectures, writings, and discussions, together with the best authorities he could find, form the sources of this book, and they are so intertwined that the author has felt himself justified in abstaining from more particular reference. It has often been said that the study of contemporary history, so important for the education of a politically-minded nation, is neglected amongst us. Perhaps the present volumes may assist in supplying this defect.

In preparing this work for the press, the writer has been materially assisted by his first Eton pupil, Mr. Charles Edward Buckland, C.I.E., sometime Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

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A HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND, 1815-20

THE fall of Napoleon consequent upon his defeat at Waterloo marks an epoch in the history of the world. Whatever moral judgment we may pass upon the conquered Emperor, there can be no doubt that he was one of the giants of the human race, comparable with Julius Cæsar, Alexander and Hannibal in ancient times, with Charles the Great in medieval, and with Louis XIV., Frederick and Peter the Great in modern annals. Dominated by the spirit of order, with a passionate hatred of seeing things badly done when they might be done well, gifted with untiring energy of mind and body, he created an empire which covered a large part of Europe, which was a model of administration, and which, like the Empire of Rome, has left a signal mark on all the nations which were subject to it.

Napoleon's Position in History.

Napoleon.

His departure from the scene produced the following effects: It removed a picturesque personality, which has not yet ceased —and probably never will cease—to impress the imaginations of men; it left a condition of exhaustion, due partly to the overactivity which the stimulus of the great monarch had called into existence, and partly to the obstinacy with which his efforts had been combated; and it was followed by a desire to undo everything that he had done, and to follow a line of action the exact contrary to that which he had pursued. Therefore the early years of the century which we have undertaken to describe are drab and dull, flaccid and impotent, obscurantist and reactionary. We cannot rightly estimate the value of Napoleon's career without considering what preceded and what followed. The French Revolution had destroyed in France not only all government, but all the materials from which a government could be con-

structed. The rank, the wealth, the genius of France had perished under the guillotine; religion, justice and control had been violently overthrown, liberty had run wild, authority had ceased to exist. That Bonaparte should have created a government at all is wonderful; that he should have established it on these foundations is a miracle of genius.

After Napoleon.

For fifteen short years as Consul and Emperor he swayed continental Europe, and the misgovernment which succeeded him is a testimony to the excellence of his rule. The fifteen years which followed his fall are marked by the vices which produced the Revolution in France and similar outbreaks in other countries. Monarchy was again restored, the privileged classes resumed their powers, a corrupt and selfish camarilla usurped the wisdom of the throne, the people lost their power, the third estate became again the nothing which it had been before 1789. The career of the Corsican seemed to have passed like a thunderstorm, and its central figure was slowly dying on the rock of St. Helena, forgotten for ever, as the statesmen of Europe fondly believed. But the forces which produced the French Revolution, which Napoleon so well understood and so wisely controlled, were indestructible. The advance of democratic principles could not be stayed. They had their share in the overthrow of the government which had brought them into existence. There could never have been a national rising in Germany unless Napoleon had first broken the fetters which made all national movements in that country impossible. Spain learnt fitfully a similar lesson from the same source, and Russia became conscious of her national strength in her efforts to resist the invader. Fifteen years after Waterloo the storm broke, and the eighty odd years which have succeeded the Revolution of 1830 are among the most remarkable that the world has ever known.

England's Stability.

England has played a large, even a dominant, part in the developments of this period. She found herself in 1815 the mistress of Europe, enjoying in great measure the inheritance of the conqueror she had overthrown. She used her power, if not always with enlightenment, at least with moderation. She refused to take part in the Holy Alliance, she entered upon the path of democratic progress by the reform of the Constitution in 1832, she suffered but little from the convulsions of 1848, her throne remained unshaken while others were tottering. Professing a wise and temperate regard for liberty, she gave assistance to other countries who were ridding themselves of arbitrary governments; she took a large share in the erection of a united Italy; her soil became

a sanctuary for exiles of all complexions, and for the remainder of the century she bore an honoured name as the champion and defender of the weak. In recent years the urgency of Imperial problems has lessened her participation in the affairs of Europe, but her whole career has been glorious, and whether she was right or wrong in her resistance to Napoleon, history bears no finer record than the long reign of the spotless Victoria and the short, autumnal glory of Edward the Peacemaker.

A Period of Gloom.

The years which immediately succeeded the Peace of Vienna are amongst the darkest in our history. Peace brought distress rather than prosperity. The war, in many ways, had not been unfavourable to the well-being of the country. Capital had been invested in Britain as the only place in which it could be safely stored, the carrying trade of the world had fallen of necessity into the hands of the mistress of the seas, nearly all the profit on the huge over-expenditure had found its way into our hands, and the progress of agriculture had been nearly as remarkable as the development of our manufactures. But with the cessation of war, expenditure due to war ceased; all countries practised retrenchment, and our own expenditure fell in three years from £106,000,000 to £53,000,000. There was no longer a Continental demand for our manufactures; prices fell and, with prices, wages. Our National Debt exceeded £800,000,000, spent in the struggle against the Revolution and Napoleon. There was a deficit of £10,000,000 in the revenue of the year. Farms were thrown out of occupation, the ranks of the unemployed were swelled by the reductions in the army and the navy. Bankruptcies increased in number every day, landlords received no rents, and tenants could sell no corn. Estates offered for occupation rent-free were rejected. This distress was intensified by an entire failure of the harvest of 1816. Distress led to riots, and riots led to cruel acts of repression. If Napoleon had known of this at St. Helena he might have felt that his ruin had been in some measure avenged.

Birth of Radicalism.

Some of the more serious riots took the form of the destruction of machinery, and the more notable of the machine destroyers were known by the name of Luddites. Ned Ludd was a half-witted fellow in a Leicestershire village, who was the butt of the village lads. One day, pursuing his tormentors, and being unable to catch them, in a passion he broke two stocking-frames, and from this all breaking of stocking-frames was said to be the work of Ludd and all destroyers of machinery were called Luddites. It was natural that a political remedy should be sought for this evil, and the party that charged themselves with the duty of finding

a remedy took the name of Radicals. The name, now harmless, was then a red rag to all moderate people, as the term Socialist so often is at the present time. Radicals were regarded as the enemies of the human race, and every effort was made to suppress them. Even those who undoubtedly held Radical opinions were afraid to use the odious appellation. Every rioter was a Radical, and every Radical was supposed to be a rioter and a rebel. A meeting of Radicals held in the Spa Fields, in December, 1816, led to a riot, in which a mob, marching under a tricolour flag, plundered a gunsmith's shop and fired at respectable citizens. They were, however, opposed by a determined Lord Mayor and gradually dispersed.

The Chartists.

So far as the Radicals had a definite programme it was embodied in a demand for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, abolition of property qualification for candidates, and payment of members. These five points, afterwards increased to six, formed the People's Charter, and the persons demanding them were called Chartists. There was nothing very formidable in these proposed reforms; three of them we have already, and the others may possibly come. Unfortunately the task of dealing with the disorders was entrusted to one of the worst Ministries ever known in England. Liverpool and Castlereagh knew nothing of conciliation, and met the natural consequences of discontent with penal laws of increasing severity. At the beginning of 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and special Acts were passed by which the refusal of a seditious meeting to disperse was punishable by death; safeguards were provided for the security of the person of the Prince Regent; and all attempts to tamper with the allegiance of the army and navy were severely punished. This was the last time that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in England.

March of the "Blanketeers."

These violent measures to repress disorder naturally increased it, and incendiary fires and riots, which soldiers had to be called out to suppress, occurred in every quarter of the country. One of the most picturesque demonstrations was the march of the "Blanketeers," which originated in Manchester. Some four or five thousand men, each provided with a blanket, and some of them with arms, set out to march to London with a petition for the Prince Regent. They were met by the Life Guards at Stockport; about five hundred of them reached Macclesfield, and not more than twenty crossed the borders of Staffordshire.

Later, signs of increasing prosperity appeared. There was an abundant harvest, the price of wheat fell, and with it the

prices of other articles of food. National confidence increased. Consols, which in January, 1817, were as low as 62, rose in August to 81. Trade steadily improved.

The Press Fettered.

The Ministry, however, pursued their policy of repression, directing their efforts now against the liberty of the Press. Lord Sidmouth considered the Press to be the worst enemy to the Constitution, and this opinion was shared by many excellent people. In all countries and in all ages an unrestricted Press has done great mischief. Seasons of war and tumult bring grist to the pressman's mill; a great war produces a great fortune for a newspaper, and it is natural that the Press should make slight endeavours to instigate conditions so favourable to its prosperity. Repression, however, causes more evils than license, and the healthy atmosphere of freedom is by far the most efficient remedy for the evils which it may in some cases help to produce.

In March, 1817, Lord Sidmouth, as Home Secretary, sent a circular letter to the Lords Lieutenants of the counties, urging them to prevent as far as possible the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and letters, and saying that the apprehension of persons charged with the publication of literature of this nature would be in accordance with law. The legality of this action was very doubtful, but the Ministry was so strong in Parliament that questioners were silenced. These new batteries were first directed against a contemptible rag entitled *The Black Dwarf*, which had the hardihood to libel the Ministry. The printer and publisher, named Wooler, received the honour of a State prosecution; but the jury were not unanimous in their condemnation of him, and the Ministry suffered a defeat. The case of Wooler was the forerunner of the more famous trial of William Hone, a little bookseller in the Old Bailey, who had published parodies on the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other parts of the Prayer Book. At the first trial he was acquitted amidst general applause; on a second trial, the jury only deliberated for two hours; on a third, after half an hour, he was declared not guilty. Popular enthusiasm was strongly in his favour, and a subscription was raised for his family.

General Election of 1818.

When Parliament met in January, 1818, the Habeas Corpus Act was restored. The prosperity of the country gradually increased, and the price of wheat fell. But a General Election was at hand. The Parliament, returned in 1812, had run its natural course, and it was hoped that in the new contest the Ministry would lose and the Opposition gain. At a General Election in our own day every seat is contested, but at that time more than

half the seats were at the disposal either of the Government or of some individual, so that little more than a hundred seats were in dispute. No great change took place, but the numbers of the Opposition were raised from 140 to 173. The rising prosperity of the country was shown by the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England. Theoretically, every bank-note represents a corresponding amount of gold, and may be exchanged for that amount at any moment. But in 1797, the darkest period of the French War, this had been found impossible, and bank-notes were given a compulsory circulation. It was now possible to return to the former procedure, and in 1819 an Act was passed which ordered the entire resumption of cash payments to any amount after May 1st, 1821. At the present day every note issued by the Bank of England represents an equivalent amount of gold stored in the Bank's coffers, so that no promise to pay is made unless there is sufficient money to meet the promise. This provision may not be necessary. In foreign countries, when notes are at par, only a sufficient amount of gold is retained to secure this result. But it is essential to the security of national trade that there should be no fluctuation in the value of paper money, and the certainty of the existence of this reserve in the Bank of England produces a national confidence which nothing else could bring into existence.

Peterloo. Notwithstanding these favourable symptoms, an event now occurred which stirred the feeling of the nation to the depths. On August 16th, 1819, a popular meeting was summoned at Manchester, for the purpose of electing what was called a Legislational Attorney, that is to say, a person who could represent the town in petitioning the Speaker, and so perform a duty which would have belonged to the member for Manchester if such a person had existed. The meeting was held in St. Peter's Fields, a space of open ground on the outskirts of the town, which had been used before for Radical meetings and by the "Blanketeers" in 1817. Hunt, the leader of the Radicals, was to speak. Pains had been taken to conduct the meeting with some show of military order, and the town authorities had taken steps on their side to prevent disturbance by moving troops into the town, enrolling special constables, and calling out the Yeomanry. Shortly after daybreak fifty or sixty thousand persons, male and female, marched to St. Peter's Fields, under banners bearing inscriptions such as "Liberty or Death!" "We will conquer our enemies," "No Corn Laws," and "Hunt and Liberty." Wagons had been placed in the centre of the field for the use of the speakers, and the

county magistrates were assembled in a house close to the place of meeting. Hunt began to speak, and the Chief Constable was ordered to arrest him. This it was impossible for him to do, and the Yeomanry and the Hussars were sent for. The Yeomanry became scattered among the crowd, and the Hussars were ordered to extricate them. The trumpet sounded the charge, the soldiers swept the crowd before them till they were huddled up in a confused mass at the other end of the field. The ground was covered with hats, shoes, sticks, musical instruments, and other relics of the confusion, and amongst them lay the bodies of those who were too much injured to walk away, some women being among the sufferers. Hunt quietly surrendered to the Chief Constable and was removed in custody, and by six o'clock everything was tranquil. Such was the "massacre of Peterloo," a name fashioned in jest, after the great national victory of Waterloo.

Public Meetings and Treason

It was difficult to decide whether this meeting at Manchester was legal or illegal. Lords Eldon and Redesdale declared it to be an act of open treason. The law officers of the Crown advised the Premier that the meeting was of such a character as to justify the magistrates in dispersing it by force; but, if these authorities were correct, the old right of public meeting was destroyed and it was treason for a thousand persons to meet together to demand the reform of the House of Commons. The Prince Regent sent his commands to the Ministry to convey his appreciation and high commendation of the conduct of the magistrates and civil authorities at Manchester, as well as of the officers and troops, both regular and Yeomanry, whose firmness and effectual support of the civil power had preserved the peace of the town on that critical occasion. Such members of the Cabinet as were in town committed themselves to hasty approval of the magistrates and the troops. It was found, however, that evidence against the rioters did not warrant a prosecution for high treason; the charge had to be withdrawn and to be changed into one of conspiring to alter the law by force and threats. The prisoners were committed for trial on this charge, and in the following year were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Great indignation at the conduct of the Ministry was shown throughout the country. Meetings were held at Westminster, York, Bristol, Liverpool, Nottingham, and other towns. The Common Council of London passed a series of resolutions affirming the legality of the Manchester meeting, and their strong indignation at the unprovoked and intemperate proceedings of

the military, which they regarded as highly disgraceful to the character of Englishmen and a daring violation of the British Constitution. These opinions were embodied in an address which was presented to the Prince Regent in person. He replied to it in a tone of angry remonstrance.

The "Six Acts."

The most important of the protesting meetings was held in Yorkshire. The requisition asking the High Sheriff to call it was signed by Lord Fitzwilliam, as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding; the meeting was attended by 20,000 persons, and demanded an inquiry into what happened at Peterloo. Lord Fitzwilliam was present in person. Before a week had elapsed he received a letter saying that the Prince Regent had no longer occasion for his services as Lord Lieutenant. Parliament met on November 29th, and its meeting was signalised by the passing of the repressive measures known as the "Six Acts." This policy, inaugurated by the Tories, was unfortunately supported by a section of the Whigs, notably by Lord Grenville and Lord Buckingham. The "Six Acts" were very different in character: some of them noxious, some of them harmless, or even salutary. The first two, preventing delay in the administration of justice in case of misdemeanour, and forbidding the training of persons in the use of arms and the practice of military evolutions, were reasonable enough; the first, indeed, as altered by Lord Holland, removed a weapon of persecution which had often been used against rioters. The remaining four Acts were of an obnoxious character; the first authorised the seizure of seditious and blasphemous libels, and made banishment the punishment for a second conviction; the second authorised Justices of the Peace in certain disturbed counties to seize and detain arms. The latter was only a temporary measure, but an attempt to confine the right of search to the daytime was rejected by a large majority. The former proved entirely useless; its provisions were never enforced, and ten years later it was repealed. By the fifth of these "Six Acts" certain small publications were subjected to the stamp duties enforced in the case of newspapers, a restriction of the liberty of the Press which the Opposition were powerless to prevent. The last Act was the most stringent of all. It aimed at the prevention of seditious assemblies. Excepted from its operations were certain meetings summoned by Lords Lieutenants or Sheriffs, borough meetings called by Mayors or corresponding officials, and meetings convened by five or more Justices of the Peace. With these exceptions all meetings for the consideration of grievances against Church or State, or for the purpose of drawing up petitions, except in

the parishes where the individuals actually resided, were prohibited.

No person who was not an actual resident in the place was allowed to attend such a meeting, nor could it be held unless previous notice had been given to a neighbouring magistrate, who might prevent the meeting if he pleased. No persons carrying arms or banners were allowed to attend.

By these measures the power of meeting would be confined to the privileged classes; ordinary persons could only attend meetings in their own parishes, and professional orators would be entirely excluded from them. In addition, a meeting could only be convened by the mayor in a corporate town, and at this time Manchester, Birmingham, and other large towns were not only unrepresented in Parliament, but also were not corporate. Thus persons residing in them were prevented, both outside and inside Parliament, from expressing their opinions on political questions. The Opposition were powerless to prevent these tyrannical measures from being passed, and they could only succeed in limiting their operation to five years.

The Cato Street Conspiracy.

The death of George III., which happened at this time, was an event of no importance. Bereft of reason, sight, and hearing, he had been seen occasionally, as a phantom with a long, white beard, at the windows of Windsor Castle. But, owing to the decease of the King, Parliament was prorogued and immediately dissolved. The new reign opened in circumstances of darkness and gloom. The Ministers were so unpopular that a conspiracy was formed to murder them. The head of the conspirators was Arthur Thistlewood, a well-known Radical, fifty years of age—a military-looking man of fair height, with sallow complexion, dark hair, and dark, hazel eyes. He had just come out of prison, and he now proposed to assassinate the whole Cabinet, to take a few pieces of artillery which happened to be in London unguarded, to set fire to a large bank and some public buildings, to seize the Tower and the Mansion House, and to establish a provisional government. Thistlewood was joined by Ings (a butcher), Bush (a shoemaker), Davidson (a man of colour), Adams (a retired soldier), Hiden (a cowkeeper), and others. It was announced in the newspapers that the Cabinet were to dine with Lord Harrowby on February 23rd, at his house in Grosvenor Square. The house was to be attacked by fourteen men. One was to ring the bell on the pretence of delivering a note, and the conspirators were to rush in. Hand-grenades were to be thrown in at the windows, and the Ministers who were not killed by them were to be assassinated.

Ministers had for some time past received full information about the plot from one of the conspirators ; they knew that arms, bombs, and hand-grenades were stored in a loft over a stable in Cato Street, a small thoroughfare running parallel to the Edgware Road. Warrants were now issued, and the place was attacked by the police. Twenty-five conspirators were discovered, just preparing to set out for Lord Harrowby's house. As the police climbed the ladder to the loft, the first of them was stabbed to the heart as he entered, and many of the conspirators escaped, including Thistlewood. He was, however, captured next day and was tried for high treason, found guilty, and condemned to death. He was hanged, with four other conspirators, in front of the debtors' door, Newgate, on May 1st, 1820. The corpses were beheaded after death, but the bodies were not quartered, as the sentence had provided. Thistlewood died with spirit. At the news of the plot, terror spread through the kingdom. It was compared in atrocity with the famous Gunpowder Plot in the reign of James I. It was laid to the charge of the Radical reformers, and the name of Radical became more hateful than ever. The plot was only the work of a few, but misery and discontent must have risen to a high pitch before such remedies could be contemplated.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE.

WHEN Louis XVIII. returned to Paris, after the Battle of Waterloo, he found himself reigning over a new France. The old order of things had been swept away by the Revolution; equality had taken the place of privilege. Napoleon had founded an Imperial democracy, in which a career was open to talent, in which promotion even to the highest offices was independent of family, of fortune, and of faith. The land was freed from burdens, and was divided equally among the children after the death of its possessor. Society rested on a basis in which all forms of aristocracies, spiritual as well as temporal, had ceased to exist. This fabric was held together by the most perfect machinery of centralised authority which the world has ever seen—an authority which even now endures, and which has held France together in the shock of revolutions, in the vicissitudes of rulers, in disaster and in prosperity. But for the institutions of Napoleon, France of the present day could not exist. Louis followed the advice of Fouché to rest in the bed of the great Emperor; the system of centralised government received some modification, which did not alter its character. Paul Louis Courier could with reason complain that authority and not law was the dominant force in France. **A New France.**

It became necessary, however, as a concession to modern ideas, to reconcile the two conflicting principles of authority and liberty. Even Napoleon, on his return from Elba, had thought it wise to grant a Constitution—"La Benjamine" of Benjamin Constant—a step which he had much better have deferred till he was firmly established on his throne. The Bourbons gave the nation *La Charte*, a charter of liberties, which was due rather to the generosity of the sovereign than to the triumph of the people. Although it acknowledged all titles of nobility, both old and new, it made all Frenchmen equal before the law. It did away with exemption from taxes; it recognised all religions, but the Catholic religion was declared to be the religion of the State; judges were made irremovable, and while the executive remained in the hands of the King, legislative power was divided between him and the Chambers. A Constitutional Government had been established, but Article 14 **La Charte.**

still gave the sovereign power to issue such ordinances and regulations as might be necessary for the execution of the laws and the security of the State, and, fifteen years later, this proved to be the ruin of the Bourbon monarchy.

The Rise of Louis Philippe.

Louis XVIII. was a clever and cultivated man, adroit and subtle, who in the prime of life might have shown himself a competent sovereign; but at the age of sixty he was confined to his arm-chair by gout, and his predominant wish was to die King of France. He had during his exile held with unshaken tenacity the consciousness of his rank and his destiny, and had never in poverty and abasement abated an iota of his kingly majesty. His heir, the Comte d'Artois, was of a different stamp. In his absence from France he had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing; a libertine turned saint, he lived entirely under priestly influence; he was benevolent but narrow, easy-going but obstinate, possessed by the delusion that the nightmare of Liberalism would pass away, and that the good old days of absolute government would return. He accepted the *Charte* with reluctance, and insisted on the white flag of the Bourbons instead of the tricolour of the Empire being the banner of the new monarchy. "Monsieur," as he was called, had two sons, the Duc d'Angoulême, whose devotion to his father prevented his sterling qualities from being appreciated, and the Duc de Berri, whose turbulent and unstable character deprived him of all political influence. Angoulême was married to Marie Thérèse, the only daughter of Louis XVI., a woman of masculine energy, but of hard and narrow mind, whose reddened eyes and hollow cheeks were the result of her confinement in the Temple. In the background stood Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, and son of Philippe Egalité, who perished on the scaffold. He was a remarkable man, gifted with an extraordinary memory; his occupation as a teacher in Switzerland had taught him much. He had acted as doorkeeper to the Jacobin Club; he had lived through the Terror; he had experienced the splendour of the old regime and the tortures of exiled poverty. He knew how to bide his time. Raised to the throne, he gave France eighteen years of good government, until he was ruined by his lack of prestige and the stubbornness of his temper.

After Waterloo the four Powers—England, Russia, Austria and Prussia—who had brought about the fall of Napoleon, would not relax their hold on the country which they had defeated; they supported the Bourbon king, but they had no confidence in France. The ambassadors of these four countries met every week to regulate the affairs of the country, and they might have committed

serious errors had they not been held in check by the solid sense and manly moderation of the Duke of Wellington, who commanded the army of occupation.

Fouché and Talleyrand.

The most important members of the Ministry were Fouché and Talleyrand, two enigmatical characters, whose riddle the industry of a hundred years has as yet failed to solve. Fouché could not have attained the position he held if he had not possessed some good qualities to balance the contemptible vices which are indelibly associated with his name. But he was a regicide; the King and Artois would scarcely speak to him; the Duchesse d'Angoulême would not admit him to her house. Talleyrand, one of the ablest statesmen known to history, is extremely difficult to characterise. The servant of every government in turn, alternately the friend and the enemy of the priesthood to which he belonged, the Republic which he represented, the Empire which he first obeyed and then destroyed, the saviour of France at Vienna, her worthy ambassador in London, he stands as a type of a versatile genius, without principles or morality, ready and content to pluck the jewel of personal safety from the fire of danger and disaster. Still, the careful student of his career is tempted to believe that love of France was his dominant motive, and that he served each master so long as his conduct was compatible with security and common sense, and left him when extravagance and exaggeration were likely to incur disaster. The characters of most men are double; in those whom destiny places in positions full of moment for the race, this duplicity becomes as important as it is difficult to disentangle.

The "White Terror."

The other members of the Ministry need not, for the present, concern us. Moderate in themselves, they were powerless to prevent the outburst of royalist ferocity, known by the name of the "White Terror," to distinguish it from the "Red Terror" of Robespierre. The friends of the restored monarchy, especially in the south of France, were eager to execute their vengeance on the defeated Bonapartists. The plunderings and massacres began in Marseilles, and were continued in Autun, Carpentras, Nîmes, Uzès, and the neighbouring towns. The forces of the King were powerless to put down the bandits marching under the white flag, who were the instruments of these excesses. The fever spread to the rest of France, but in a milder form; there were no murders in the west, only robberies and imprisonments; in the east and north the Bourbonists contented themselves with denunciations, and in these parts order was preserved by the presence of foreign troops.

At the same time the King felt that he must pay some tribute to the prevailing sentiment, and Fouché was deputed to draw up

a list of the proscribed. It contained the names of Carnot, Maret, Barère, Ney—who engaged to bring back Napoleon to Paris in a cage—and Labédoyère, who joined the Emperor with his troops at Vizille. Every effort was made to save Labédoyère, but he was shot on the Plain of Grenelle on August 19th, 1815. The election resulted in the return of a strongly Royalist Chamber, and, as a natural consequence, Fouché and Talleyrand lost their places. Fouché had to content himself with the post of Minister at Dresden, but Talleyrand was made Grand Chamberlain, with a large salary.

Richelieu's Government.

The new Prime Minister was the Duc de Richelieu, a much-travelled and deeply-experienced man, who, in the enforced exile of the emigration, had created Odessa and developed the province of which he was governor. His friendship with the Emperor Alexander enabled him to obtain favourable terms for his country in the payment of the indemnity, and in this way he supplied the loss of Talleyrand. The place of Fouché was taken by Decazes, a young lawyer who had been President of the Paris Assizes under the Empire. Affable, versatile, and courteous, with an agreeable face and a sympathetic manner, he naturally became the favourite of the Court. Louis loved him like a child and loaded him with honours, while the aristocrats of the Faubourg St. Germain lost no time in greeting the rising sun.

The new Ministry met the Chambers on October 7th. The new House of Representatives was strongly Royalist, to the great joy of the King, who called it the *Chambre Introuvable:* the priceless, the unique—a word which cannot adequately be translated into our tongue. The name adhered, as it was used quite as much for ridicule as for praise. The Royalists were, however, of two complexions: one division, of which Pasquier, de Serre, Royer-Collard and Beugnot were the leaders, saw the necessity of reuniting the new France with the old, and of moderating the zeal of the "Ultras." These latter, stimulated by Monsieur, were enthusiastic supporters of throne and altar. Coming from the provinces, they were at first without discipline, but they soon found a leader in Villèle. In the upper Chamber the old nobility of France sat side by side with the offspring of Napoleon's marshals, or with these marshals themselves. Three measures of a reactionary character were brought forward by Ministers. The first was directed against all injurious expressions in word, writing, or picture against the King and his family, attacks on the *Charte*, and other similar offences. The second authorised the imprisonment, without a trial, of anyone who had offended against the person or authority of the King or his family, or against the security of the State;

such offences were to be denounced to the police by a number of subordinate officials, but the law was to expire at the end of the session, unless it was renewed. The third law provided for the establishment of a provost marshal's jurisdiction in every department, to take cognisance of all attacks upon the Government, and the law was to have a retrospective action.

"Purification" of France.

These laws were not only passed by the second Chamber, but were made more severe in their passage. In their zeal for the Crown, the members of the Chamber went further than the Ministers themselves. A discussion followed upon the exceptions to be made to the general law of amnesty, which had been passed at Cambray on the return of Louis. Labourdonnaye demanded the death of all who had taken part in the restoration of the Hundred Days. The regicides of the Convention, amnestied by the *Charte*, were to lose their pardon if they had taken any share in the government of Napoleon. Transportation and confiscation of property were the natural penalties, but Labourdonnaye clamoured for the guillotine; the rebels must be frightened, their leaders must lose their heads, the shedding of a little blood would stop streams of gore. Richelieu felt that it would be very difficult to stem the rising tide of fanaticism. Ney, who had escaped death in a hundred battles, fell in a Paris street under the fire of twelve of his countrymen. The law of amnesty was hotly debated; the Ministry were saved, but only by the skin of their teeth. Europe was full of poverty-stricken exiles, wandering miserably from place to place; in the Netherlands, Republicans and Bonapartists found a secure asylum. The purification of the army demanded many victims; the prisons were crowded with general and inferior officers awaiting their trial. The administration underwent a similar process; from the prefect to the council clerk, all were subjected to a searching examination; the provost marshals found plenty of occupation. Executions, indeed, had come to an end; but fines, imprisonments, and hard labour took their place.

Influence of the Comte d'Artois.

The propaganda of the Clericals became gradually stronger, and they found an active leader in the Comte d'Artois. The Pavillon Marsan, the part of the Tuileries in which he lived, was opposed to the Pavillon de Flore, the residence of the King. The two brothers were scarcely on speaking terms. The policy of the Ultras was shown more clearly in the debates about the franchise and the budget, as the first of these questions had not been determined by the *Charte*, but had been left for future consideration and legislation. In these discussions Villèle gradually assumed a prominent place. Beginning life as a sailor, he had learned the

cautious avoidance of political storms. He was an enemy of uncontrolled fanaticism; he possessed a plain and practical wisdom, which gave its influence by clearness and acuteness, without any gifts of oratory or presence. His hope of victory lay in indefatigable work and sane compromise. He drew up a scheme by which the members of the Chamber were chosen by a double election and were themselves to have a high qualification of age and property. In the cantons, the voters must be twenty-five years old, and pay direct taxes of at least fifty francs; in the departments they must be thirty years old, and pay direct taxes of three hundred francs. The candidates must be forty years old and pay taxes to the amount of a thousand francs. These propositions did not receive the approbation either of the Moderates or of the Ultras, and the plan finally proposed by the Chamber was not likely to gain the favour of any party. Similar questions of principle arose in the debates on the budget, the recognition of obligations incurred during the Hundred Days, the proportion between direct and indirect taxes—the first of which would fall most heavily on the rich, the second on the poor—the propriety of confiscating communal property, whether land or woods, roused violent differences of opinion. An agreement was at length arrived at, and the Ministry was able to present to the Peers an almost unanimous proposal. The proposal made by the Chambers for the conduct of elections was rejected by the upper house, and a scheme drawn up by Villèle, by which matters were left for the time being in their present condition, was accepted by the Tories. The King was disgusted by the defeat of his Ministry, but was forced to submit. The budget was passed by the Peers and, after an attempt made by the Ultras to abolish divorce and to place the Church in a position of independence of taxation, the session closed.

Anti-Bourbon Plots.

These disputes were watched with deep interest by the great Powers, whose armies still occupied the soil of France. They feared, on the one hand, lest the violence of the Ultras should produce a new Revolution, and, on the other, lest a weakness in the finances should hinder the payment of the debt. Confidence, however, prevailed; and in January, 1816, the foreign garrison in Paris, which had been reduced to two English brigades, was entirely withdrawn. Wellington, with his usual good sense, warned Louis against the pernicious influence of Monsieur, but his action gave offence to both parties. Louis was not disposed to accept advice, and the Ultras renewed the cry of "Perfidious Albion."

In May, 1816, a conspiracy took place in Grenoble, by which a man of little importance, named Didier, attempted to upset the

throne of the Bourbons and to establish either the Duc d'Orléans or the King of Rome in its place. The plot ended in failure, and Didier escaped to Savoy; but General Donnadieu, a violent Royalist, who commanded at Grenoble, exaggerated its importance. In his heated imagination, the number of rebels rose from four thousand to seven thousand, from seven thousand to fifteen thousand, and from fifteen thousand to the whole population of the province. The Department of the Seine was declared in a state of siege, Donnadieu and the prefects were invested with discretionary powers, the garrison of Grenoble was strengthened, and house-searchings and imprisonments became the order of the day. Fourteen wretched people were shot in one day, and seven more on another. Didier, surrendered by the King of Sardinia, was executed. When Donnadieu had been made a viscount, decorated with the Order of St. Louis, and received a gift of £40,000, it was discovered that the plot had never existed, and that the throne had never been in danger. But Royalists were delighted to have such an opportunity of annoying their enemies, and wished for similar plots all over the south of France. Military courts were roused into activity, admirals and provost marshals vied with them in energy. The fire spread to Paris; three conspirators were executed in the Place de la Grève, in the guise of parricides, their heads covered with black veils, robed in white sheets. A huge crowd saw their heads chopped off, and threw their hats into the air with shouts of *"Vive le Roi!"* Similar scenes occurred in the departments, and it is impossible to ascertain the number of victims who perished. The true conspirators were those who sought to find conspirators everywhere, and who, armed with authority, saw in their own enemies the enemies of the King, and, if they could not find them, created them by persecution.

Fall of the Ultras.

The intemperance of the Ultras could only be met by the dissolution of the Chamber. The proclamation ordering this was prepared in secret, with the help of Decazes. It fell like a thunderbolt in the Pavillon Marsan; and Louis, to avoid disagreeable argument, lay in bed. In the elections the Ultras were completely defeated, except in the west and south. The new Chamber met on November 4th, 1816. The King addressed them as a father to a band of brothers, but the family to which he spoke was torn by bitter hatred. It was a struggle for life and death, and the ordinary forms of politeness were forgotten. Hatred of Decazes drove Talleyrand to support the extreme party. Attempts were made by Monsieur to attract the English Tories to his side, but without success. Canning visited Paris to see things with his own eyes,

but he was not caught by flattery. On the other hand, Richelieu endeavoured to obtain a diminution of the foreign garrison, but it was strongly opposed by Wellington, and France had still to maintain 150,000 unwelcome guests.

In the new Chamber the Ultra-royalists, whose leaders were Villèle, Labourdonnaye, Corbière, Bonald and Castelbajac, were inferior in numbers to the combined majority of the Centre and the Left. The Right Centre was led by Royer-Collard, the head of the Doctrinaires, who was chosen Vice-President of the Chamber and was supported by the majority of the Ministers and a number of high officials, which included Guizot and Molé. The principal members of the Ministry after the Duc de Richelieu were Decazes and Lainé, to whom was shortly added Pasquier, as Minister of Justice.

A New Franchise.

The object of the Ministry was to pursue a middle course between Liberalism and reaction. The franchise question was settled by Lainé, in a proposal founded on the previous discussions. The right of voting was confined to men of thirty years of age who paid direct taxes to the amount of three hundred francs. The elections were to be held at a single place in each department, by *scrutin de liste*, and by a majority of votes. The returning officers were nominated by the King; they were to choose their own scrutineers from the oldest of the voters, and the secretary from the youngest. These propositions naturally met with opposition. Some were devoted to the principle of a double election, and were adverse to the meeting of all the electors in a single spot; but the main resistance to this plan came from the Ultras. Fiévée said: "The King names the returning officer, the returning officer appoints the committee, the committee nominates the electors, and the constituents are mere spectators." By the stress of circumstances the extreme Tories were driven to urge the claims of the working classes. At length the measure was passed by a small majority, in January, 1817. It had yet to receive the approval of the Peers. The President said that it was too democratical. Talleyrand, on the other hand, denounced it as a product of oligarchy; Artois and his son Angoulême presented a protest against the Bill, composed by Chateaubriand. Polignac, Montmorency, the Duke of FitzJames, and other aristocrats predicted that a revolution would arise from the predominance of the middle classes. On the other hand, La Rochefoucauld, Boissy d'Anglas, Macdonald, Marmont, Molé and Broglie came to the rescue, and they were supported by the King, so that the Bill passed and received the royal assent. Unfortunately, exceptional coercive legislation and the censure of the Press still remained. The session closed at the end of March, 1817.

THE HOPE OF FRANCE

A Napoleonic Revival.

The Ministry now turned their attention to the number of French exiles who in Belgium and other neighbouring countries were designing schemes against the Bourbon house. Some looked to the Prince of Orange, the eldest son of the King of Holland, as a possible ruler of France. He was married to a sister of the Tsar, and the assistance of his brother-in-law, Alexander, would be of great service to him. Bonapartism was perhaps an even greater danger. Thousands of discharged soldiers looked with enthusiasm to the exile of St. Helena. The funeral of Masséna gave an occasion for hostile demonstrations. The appearance of an impudent forgery, entitled, "A Manuscript from St. Helena," increased the excitement. Villèle said to the Austrian Ambassador, "Napoleon never had so many adherents since his fall; the discontented, the ambitious, the Liberals, the revolutionaries, all sects are his creatures and march under his banner." Threats and suspicion resumed their sway, and the unfortunate exile on the rock had to suffer for their delusions. It was feared that the exiles across the Atlantic would found a kingdom for Joseph in South America, whence he could sail for the liberation of his brother. Napoleon's mother, his sister Pauline, his brothers Lucien and Jerome, his step-daughter Hortense, his sister Caroline Murat, were anxiously watched. Lucien was not allowed to accompany his son Charles on a visit to Joseph in America. Prince Eugène was hardly protected by his connection with the Russian house and the affection of the Tsar; the little King of Rome was made a scapegoat in Vienna. It was seriously believed that Napoleon might escape.

Famine and Riot.

France was doomed to suffer other calamities. A cold and wet summer caused a famine. Bread rose to a franc a pound, and the peasants had to live on roots. This gave rise to riots: corn-ships were attacked, markets were plundered, granaries robbed. The White Terror was not at an end; it broke out anew in Lyons, where the military governor, Camuel, set himself to emulate the exploits of Donnadieu. A riot caused by his severity broke out in June, 1817. The tocsin sounded in the villages; the king's busts were destroyed; the tricolour was displayed. The disturbance lasted only a week, but now was the time for Camuel's vengeance. He sent his soldiers throughout the country, to arrest hundreds of peasants. The provost marshal was in fullest activity. The guillotine was carried about from village to village. Thousands of persons sought safety in flight, and no one knew when the Terror would come to an end. The Government profited by their experiences of the villainies of Donnadieu; they sent Marshal Marmont to inquire and, after some time, he discovered that the reports of

Camuel were false. He went so far as to say that Camuel's head alone could atone for the murder of innocent victims and the destruction of social order. Lyons breathed again and regarded Marmont as her liberator, but the Pavillon Marsan grumbled and vowed vengeance against him and his assistant, Fabvier.

The Doctrinaires.

This period saw the rise of the Doctrinaires, a small, but united, party whose principles resembled in some respects those of the English Whigs. Their leader, as we have said, was Royer-Collard, who had been in his youth secretary of the Paris Commune and a member of the Council of Five Hundred. He was expelled from one on the 10th of August and from the other on the 18th of Fructidor. He had been appointed by Napoleon Professor of the History of Philosophy, a post which he used to familiarise Frenchmen with the doctrines of Kant. He was thoroughly unselfish; the strength of his classical style, the patriarchal simplicity of his life, his powerful voice, impressed the Chamber with the idea of his personality, but the dogmatic and sometimes sarcastic character of his speeches lost him many friends. His most able supporters were Camille Jourdan, de Serre, Rémusat and the Duc de Broglie.

The influence of the Doctrinaires showed itself in the discussion of the law on the freedom of the Press. The *Charte* had promised to secure the free expression of opinion; but the law of November 9th, 1815, had established a censure for periodical publications, and was to last till the beginning of the year 1821. The Ministry proposed slight modifications, which did not satisfy either of the parties. The Doctrinaires, forming the Left Centre, advocated that all Press trials should be submitted to juries, freely chosen. This was supported by Beugnot, Camille Jourdan and Royer-Collard. Lainé reproached the Doctrinaires with an exaggerated respect for English methods; Decazes was inclined to support them. It was eventually agreed that the censure of political publications should continue only till the close of the following session. The jury was given up, but the Doctrinaires violently opposed the deposition of a copy of a forthcoming work in the office, answering to our Stationers' Hall, which made it possible to suppress a work before it was published. On this question they gained their point, and the Ministry was defeated. But the Peers came to their assistance. Chateaubriand, Polignac, Broglie and Boissy d'Anglas thundered against the new law, and the censure was continued. The King was disgusted with the Doctrinaires, and his feelings were shared by Richelieu and Lainé.

More important was the question of army reform, to which the new Minister for War, the famous Marshal Saint-Cyr, now laid his

hand. The conscription of Napoleon had become such a terrible burden that the Bourbons could not continue it, and it was condemned by the *Charte.* But free-recruiting proved inadequate to the needs of the army. Saint-Cyr introduced a compromise. He provided that if free recruiting did not produce an army of 150,000 men, the gaps were to be filled by ballot among men of twenty years of age, who were to serve for six years, but might provide substitutes. The number of these conscripts was not to exceed 40,000. The army was strengthened by a reserve of veterans, who were to serve for another six years, but not outside the frontiers of France. Promotion was to be by merit, and the influence of the Crown in that matter was to be diminished.

Army Reform Accepted.

Saint-Cyr's Bill was well received, even by the Left, but was violently opposed by the Ultras, who were afraid that the veterans would consist mainly of Napoleon's soldiers; they detested the principle of promotion by merit. Villèle was more reasonable, but still an opponent of the scheme. Saint-Cyr defended his Bill with spirit, and repelled the attacks against the veterans of Napoleon. They had earned deathless glory on the field of battle; they had given their lives for the honour of France. Should their country now reject their services? Should she, in her time of need, cease to be proud of the men whom Europe had never ceased to admire? He could not believe it. The King could not allow such devotion to be unemployed. Saint-Cyr's noble words filled and inspired the Chamber with enthusiasm, and resounded through the whole of France. He was supported by the Doctrinaires—indeed, his speech had been composed by Guizot. The Bill was passed by a large majority. It was bitterly opposed by the Peers on the ground that it diminished the royal prerogative. Talleyrand said that in future the President of the United States would have more power than the King of France. Monsieur threw his whole strength against it. He urged his brother to dismiss all the Ministers except Richelieu and Lainé, and possibly Decazes. He threatened himself to go to Fontainebleau or Spain. He said: "I know that I have duties towards the King, but I also have duties towards the monarchy, and I will not suffer the Ministry to destroy it." Wellington used his moderating influence with success. The law was passed, but an amusing incident occurred. The King, who supported the Ministry, prolonged his customary walk, in which he was attended by the violent opponents of the Bill, in order that they might not vote against it. But their friends, in their turn, prolonged the debate, and these courtiers arrived at the Chamber, breathless and dust-covered, in time to record their opposition.

The measure remained for a long time the bulwark of the military strength of France.

Foreign Debts Settled.

Another question of great importance was the settlement of the relations between the Government and the Pope. In this the Ultras were defeated, and the Liberals gained a signal victory. There remained the question of the foreign occupation and of the foreign creditors. A promise had been made at the Peace that the foreign creditors should be satisfied, but it was not known how much their claims amounted to. The sum of 180,000,000 francs, which was admitted, had been swollen to 1,390,000,000 francs, a great part of which was composed of frivolous and groundless claims. The Prince of Anhalt Bernburg demanded payment for 4,000 horsemen whom his ancestor had lent to Henry IV. in the Huguenot wars. Richelieu offered a yearly payment of 10,000,000 francs, which was not nearly enough. England counselled moderation. The Emperor Alexander came forward as a mediator. He committed the conduct of the business to Wellington, and the dispute was eventually arranged by a series of compromises, which left much heart-burning and discontent behind them. The session ended on May 18th, having placed the military forces of France on a sane basis, and advanced the prospects of the liberation of the territory.

Opposition to Saint-Cyr.

The Ultras continued to grumble. They were especially opposed to the policy of Saint-Cyr, who reformed the military schools, and was too favourable to the veterans of Napoleon. The Pavillon Marsan could not abide him; the salons of the Faubourg St. Germain demanded his dismissal, and the Duchesse de Berri would not receive him in her house. They were equally opposed to the educational reforms of Royer-Collard. The battle was conducted in the Press, where Lamennais, Chateaubriand and Fiévée thundered in the *Debats* or the *Quotidienne,* whilst Benjamin Constant and the Liberals replied in the *Minerva.* Such was the condition of France at the opening of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. The reconciliation of the old and the new France had not yet been effected. The Ultras had not surrendered the hopes of retarding the principles of the restoration; the country at large was determined not to be deprived of the fruits of the Revolution. The wounds of Leipzig and Waterloo had not been healed; Englishmen and Germans were still regarded with suspicion. But the time would arrive when the destinies of France should again be committed to her own keeping.

CHAPTER III

THE CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

IN the Treaty of November 20th, 1815, which was the foundation of the superintendence of the four Powers over the affairs of Europe, it was contemplated that meetings, either of princes or ministers, should be held from time to time to discuss important common interests. As early as 1817 Metternich had been asked to summon such a Congress, and Aix-la-Chapelle was mentioned as a suitable place, because it was so well controlled by the Prussian police. The place was agreed upon, but the Congress itself was postponed till the autumn of 1818. As the evacuation of France was the most important question to be discussed, it was necessary that she should be represented, but all other Powers except the four were excluded. The four Powers were not united, as there was a strong difference of opinion between Austria and Russia. Metternich wished to maintain the principle of the Treaty of Chaumont and to place the public order of Europe under the governance of its signatories. Great changes, he urged, were threatening the peace of Europe: she must have a master. Before 1814 she had obeyed the despotism of Napoleon; unless she was to fall under the influence of democracy she must be governed by an oligarchy, and such an oligarchy was provided by the union of the Powers. Pozzo di Borgo pointed out, on the other hand, that this would mean the isolation of Russia and the tutelage of France; that the existence of the Four Powers League would call a counter league into existence, and Europe would be divided into two warring camps. It was better to accept the principles of the Holy Alliance as the foundation of the political system of Europe. The common enemy of all was the Revolution. Metternich was alarmed by the mysticism and liberalism of Alexander, the one inspired by Frau von Krüdener, the other by his tutor Laharpe. He saw the disquieting influence of Russia on Spain, Italy and Switzerland. Capodistrias, Alexander's Minister, whom Metternich met at Carlsbad, to some extent relieved these apprehensions. He assured him that the maintenance of a peaceful order was the main object of the Emperor's policy.

Questions for the Congress.

Aix-la-Chapelle began to fill. Although the Congress was

confined to the five Great Powers, other countries had agents and reporters at the scene of action. The heads of the great banking houses, Rothschild, Bethmann, Baring and Parish, were present, seeking for prospective business. Journalists, artists, and adventurers of all kinds completed the motley crowd. Austria was represented by Metternich, Prussia by Hardenberg and Bernstorff, Russia by Capodistrias and Nesselrode, England by Castlereagh and Wellington, and France by Richelieu. Gentz was secretary, and was in a heaven of delight. He declared that this Congress was the culmination of his career. The evacuation of France was determined upon in the first stage of the proceedings. The army of occupation was to leave before November 20th, at latest; of the 265,000,000 francs which remained unpaid of the war contribution, 100,000,000 was to be paid immediately and the remainder in the first six months of 1819. The question of admitting France to an equal place with the other Powers was more difficult. Russia worked for it; Austria and England were against it. Eventually it was agreed that France should be admitted to the alliance, as a sign of brotherly goodwill; but the four Powers should renew their league by a secret protocol for the security and peace of Europe.

The "Holy Alliance."

The army of occupation began its homeward march. The Tsar and the King of Prussia held a parting review at Sedan, and then made a visit to Paris. They went incognito, but were well received and were invited to dinner by Louis. When they returned to Aix-la-Chapelle the formality of admitting France to the alliance was completed. A declaration drawn up by Gentz seemed to promise the advent of a golden age:

"The Allies solemnly recognise that their duties to God and to the peoples whom they govern make it an obligation for them, as far as in them lies, to exhibit to the world an example of justice, unity, and moderation, and they consider themselves happy in being able to direct, for the future, all their powers to the protection of the arts of peace, the development of the internal prosperity of their dominions, and the revival of those religious and moral sentiments whose influence has been, of late years, weakened by the misfortunes of the age."

These fine-sounding words prepared the way for the foundation of a Holy Alliance which, if carried out, would have made the epoch in which we live miserable. The five Great Powers bound themselves to intervene for the maintenance of social order if, in any European country, legitimate authority was threatened and their assistance were asked for. On the other hand, the granting

of a Constitution by a sovereign would not justify intervention. The Tsar was glad enough to accept a mutual guarantee for his European possessions, and Austria saw in the proposed alliance a defence against Russian conquest and Prussian militarism. But England could not undertake these obligations without the authority of Parliament, so the scheme was not carried out.

A Financial Crisis.

The dissensions in France between the Liberals and the Ultras still continued. The Liberals proposed a reorganisation of the National Guard, which provided for the admission of all tax-payers and their sons who were in possession of civil rights. Masséna, who commanded that body, prophesied that it would become a hotbed of Jacobinism, threatened to resign his office, and was with difficulty prevented from doing so by the King, Angoulême and Metternich. He said, however, to Vincent that the Election Law and the Recruiting Law were destroying the monarchy. The Ultras sought to recover their ground, by founding a paper called the *Conservative* as a counterpoise to the *Minerva*. It was written by Chateaubriand, Lamennais and Bonald. It supported the aristocracy and the Church. It, however, had little effect on the elections. A number of Liberals were returned, and Lord Stewart expressed a fear that the government would pass into the hands of robbers. Matters were made worse by a financial crisis. The Bank of France was obliged to restrain her discounts, and a panic followed which caused many failures and interrupted trade. To meet these threatening dangers the old Quadruple Alliance was renewed on November 15th. The object was declared to be the prevention of new revolutionary movements which were threatening France. To spare the feelings of France the existence of the protocol was kept secret, but it was communicated privately to Louis XVIII. A military convention was signed on the same day to provide for martial action if it should be found to be necessary.

The Congress and Napoleon.

Among the other questions discussed at the Congress were some which affected Germany alone, and some of more general significance. These comprised the quarrel between Spain and her South American colonies, the dispute between Spain and Portugal, the suppression of the Barbary pirates, and the suppression of the slave trade. England was specially active in the last reform. In 1817 she had paid to Spain a sum of £40,000 to induce her to suppress the slave trade in all her dominions from May 30th, 1820. The fate of Napoleon also engaged the attention of the Congress. His aged mother begged the Congress not to allow her son to perish in exile. Las Cases said to them: "Come to the assistance of the

unhappy victim ; a few days longer, and it will be too late." To these representations the Congress turned a deaf ear. It destroyed all hopes of release, and supported all the measures of Sir Hudson Lowe. It declared all communications with the prisoner to be criminal. The Emperor of Russia, on whom the Bonapartists had fixed their hopes, expressed himself more strongly against Napoleon than any other sovereign. Even Castlereagh found the expressions too severe.

The Congress Dissolves.

The last days of the Congress were devoted to the affairs of Prussia, a country in which Metternich seemed to discover traces of coming Liberalism. He denounced the freedom of the German Universities and the institution of students' congresses. He looked with suspicion on the athletic exercises introduced by Father Jahn. He procured the prohibition of an athletic festival at Bonn, and declared that the whole institution must be rooted out. He also expressed his dread of a Prussian Constitution. At length the Congress broke up ; the Tsar and the Emperor travelled slowly home. A few remained behind to finish various matters of business, but by the end of November Aix-la-Chapelle had resumed her old-world aspect. Metternich was able to announce to Europe that the agreement between the Cabinets had never been more complete. He seemed unaware that they were standing on the crust of a volcano.

Resignation of Richelieu.

We must now return to the affairs of France. On his return from Aix-la-Chapelle, Richelieu, although comforted by the approaching liberation of the territory, was much troubled by the internal condition of his country. He saw the flood of Liberalism rising, and did not know how to meet it. He was convinced that the partial renewal of the Chambers, which was the occasion of an annual conflict, should be done away with, and that a complete re-election after three or five years should take its place, but he could not make up his mind on what principle the franchise should be based. In these circumstances the Chambers met on December 10th, 1818. The relations between Richelieu and Decazes became more and more strained. The King strove in vain to reconcile them. At length Richelieu saw that no conclusion was possible except his own retirement, and he resigned office before the end of the year. He left it a poor man ; a national subscription was raised for his support, but he accepted it only to give it to the hospitals of Bordeaux.

The new Prime Minister was General Dessolles, a worthy soldier who had remained true to the monarchy during the Hundred Days. He also undertook the department of Foreign Affairs. Decazes

became Home Secretary. Saint-Cyr, the creator of the new army, remained Minister for War. Baron Louis, a friend of the banker Laffitte, presided over the finances. But Decazes was the real Prime Minister, the trusted confidant of the King, the man with the strongest personality. He could not, however, prevent a breach between the upper and lower Houses. The peers demanded a revision of the electoral law, in the direction of a more aristocratic government. A protest against such a measure arose from the whole country, and Decazes shrank from taking so dangerous a step. The only remedy was the creation of new peers. Sixty members were added to the upper House, most of whom represented the Bonapartist traditions. This *coup d'état* found many to condemn it; Angoulême regarded it as the beginning of the funeral of his family. The Great Powers disliked a step which might again bring France as a factor in the affairs of Europe, and even Wellington could not view with equanimity the promotion of so many officers and soldiers of the fallen Emperor.

Election of Grégoire.

The breath of Liberalism began to stir. A new Press Law, which modified the severity of the hateful law of November 9th, 1815, was drawn up with the help of Guizot, Royer-Collard and Barante. It was an improvement upon the past, but was by no means in accordance with modern ideas, but it was eventually passed. An attempt of the Liberals to allow the return of those who were suffering from a sentence of banishment, including the regicides, was met by the Minister de Serre with a decided "Never." Their exclusion from the country was eternal and irrevocable. The session ended on July 17th, 1819, the relations between the parties being more uncomfortable than before. This was shown in the partial election of a fifth of the Chamber, which took place in November. Decazes had hoped to preserve a tone of moderation, but he was disappointed. The Ultras, indeed, suffered a serious check, losing eighteen seats; but there was a large addition to the ranks of the Liberals, consisting mainly of adherents of Napoleon. But the greatest shock was the election of Grégoire in the Department of the Isère. He had once been an abbé and a constitutional bishop; but, as a member of the Constituante and of the Convention, he had shown himself bitterly radical and anti-clerical. He had once said that princes were in the moral order of things what monsters were in the natural order, and this had never been forgotten. He had not been a regicide, as he was absent from Paris at the time of the Revolution, but there is no doubt that he would have been if he had been present at the voting. His worthy career as Bishop of Blois, his pious and

benevolent character, his retired life at Auteuil under the Restoration, had not modified the hatred of his enemies, but it is a curious fact that he owed his election to the votes of the Ultras, who preferred a Jacobin to a Ministerialist.

Revision of the Franchise.

The Doctrinaires, under the leadership of de Serre, now devoted themselves to the task of Constitutional reform. The Chambers were to have the name of "Parliament of France," and were both to have the power of initiative. The reading of speeches was forbidden; the peers were given a more distinguished position, but the age for their participation in public affairs was reduced by five years. The debates were to be made public. The number of the lower House was raised from 258 to 406, to be elected for seven years, and renewed by a complete election. The age of candidates was reduced from forty to thirty years, and the qualification from 1,000 francs, paid in direct taxes, to 600. They were to be chosen partly by departments and partly by arrondissements, corresponding to the county and borough elections in England. The electors had to be residents in their districts and thirty years of age; the qualification for departmental electors was fixed at 400 francs, for arrondissements at 200. Electors who qualified for both had a double vote—one, as we would say, for the county and one for the borough. No one could be proposed as a candidate who was not known to at least twenty electors. Other provisions were intended to procure purity of election. The change in the numbers of the lower House was provisionally accepted, but the new scheme did not meet with approval. The Liberals disliked the double franchise given to the wealthier electors, and the Ultras the violation of the *Charte*. Further, the slavish imitation of English models made the plan unpopular and exposed it to ridicule. Saint-Cyr and Louis were not in favour of these proposals, and it was at first thought that their opposition might be overcome by the creation of a large coalition Cabinet, over which Richelieu should preside. But the plan failed. They retired from office, and their places were taken by Pasquier, Latour Maubourg and Roy. Pasquier became Prime Minister. This change did not receive much favour in France. The Doctrinaires did not like it, and they were not appeased by the restitution of the peers who had been driven out after the Hundred Days and the recall of all the exiles, except the regicides. At the same time it gave satisfaction in London, Vienna and Berlin. The opening speech of the King on November 29th, 1819, deplored the conflict of parties. A storm soon arose on the question of Grégoire. It was doubtful whether he was legally elected, as the law provided that out of three members

two at least must be residents in the district, and the Isère had exhausted the right of electing strangers before they had chosen Grégoire. But the Ultras would not hear of arguments; they insisted on the rejection of the priest, and this was eventually carried amid enthusiastic shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*"

Surrender of Decazes.

The ministry had met the attacks made upon them very feebly. Pasquier alone spoke powerfully in their defence. The Ultras had such a detestation for Decazes that the most violent of them joined the Left in their assault upon him. The Great Powers began to be alarmed at the condition of the country, and feared the death of the King and the accession of Charles. Decazes attempted to save the situation by a change in the Reform Bill proposed by de Serre. Instead of two categories of voters, he proposed to establish three, the first consisting of electors for departments who paid 900 francs in taxes, half of this for land; the second, who paid 500 francs; and the third, who paid 300. This would give the great landowners a more powerful preponderance. De Serre gave a reluctant consent to these alterations, but his health compelled him to leave Paris, and Decazes was deprived of a powerful ally. Baited on all sides, he surrendered his three categories and came back to the original two. The members of the Chamber were to be increased to 430, 258 being chosen by the arrondissements and 172 by the departments. At last the King gave his consent, and the scheme was to be laid before the House. But an event occurred which overthrew all calculations and turned men's thoughts into a different channel.

Murder of the Duc de Berri.

On February 13th, the Duc and Duchesse de Berri were leaving the Opera House to meet their carriage, when a man rushed forward and pierced the duke's heart with a dagger. The unfortunate man was carried into one of the rooms in the theatre, and the doctors said that there was no hope. He lived through the night, and in the morning was visited by the old King, his uncle. With his dying breath he begged that his murderer might be forgiven, and entreated his wife to spare herself for the sake of the child which was yet unborn. He died as day was fading. The murderer, Louvel, was an artisan who had long cherished the idea of freeing France from the Bourbons. A clamour arose for coercive laws, and responsibility for the murder was cast upon the weakness of Decazes. Two measures were proposed by the ministry: the first, a provision for the military trial of suspects; the second, an extension for five years of the censorship of the Press. This

was not thought sufficient, and the persecution of Decazes continued. He sought, in vain, the support of the Left. He was at last deserted by Monsieur, who had, at first, promised to help him. Artois and his sons and daughter-in-law threw themselves at the king's feet and besought him to dismiss Decazes. Long did he hesitate, and only gave in when they threatened to leave Paris and the kingdom. The Duc de Richelieu returned to power. The Ultras were jubilant. They said: "Decazes had to choose between the scaffold and exile; he chose exile." Chateaubriand declared, in conversation: "Decazes is fallen; his feet slipped in the blood which he has shed."

Repressive Measures.

Villèle and Corbière, the more moderate members of the Right, did not approve of this extravagant language. They wished to secure a majority for Richelieu, by union with the Right Centre, for he could not return in the support of the Doctrinaires. Of the two coercive laws proposed by Decazes, that of the censorship was brought before the Peers, and that of arbitrary imprisonment before the Commons. They were debated with considerable heat. An observer said: "The Chamber is no longer a deliberative assembly; it is a noisy pit, divided between two cabals who endeavour to wrest from each other the support of a vacillating and weak centre. A continuous hum of murmuring, constant calls to order, sudden interruptions, were the lot of every speaker." Passions were still further stirred by the revolutionary outbreak in Spain, which occurred at this time. These disturbances were renewed when the Press Law had to pass the Commons and the Suspect Law the Peers. By the end of March they both got through, but public opinion was not in their favour. Several Liberal papers—among them the *Minerva*—ceased publication, and even the *Conservative* put an end to its existence.

Electoral Riots.

The discussion of the Electoral Law still remained to be dealt with. The scheme of Decazes was withdrawn, and a new Bill was laid upon the table. There was a pitched battle between the forces of old and new France. De Serre returned from the south, and was able to take part in the debates. Lafayette defended the tricolour flag, which the Ultras denounced as the oriflamme of disorder. Riots took place in Paris, first directed against the Liberals, but continued with the danger of rousing the Bonapartists and Republicans. From the 4th to the 7th of June the streets of Paris were in confusion. Blood flowed on both sides. Cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" were answered by cries of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" At length, when all parties were weary of the conflict, an Electoral Law was passed which secured a double election and a certain

preponderance of the wealthier electors. This was finally passed on June 29th, 1820. The victory was, on the whole, in favour of the Ultras. De Serre expelled Royer-Collard, Camille Jourdan, Bonald and Guizot from the Council of State. Villèle saw the prospect of the ministry open before him. A reactionary movement had begun, the result of which no one could foresee.

CHAPTER IV

GERMANY

Austria and Prussia.

THE wars of the Revolution and those of Napoleon had profoundly modified the internal condition of Germany. Old institutions were swept away, and the ground was prepared for a nation of the modern type. This clearing, however, had not been complete; the Emperor and the Diet had disappeared, but the Emperor and the Empire of Austria had taken their place. Germany was now governed by thirty-eight sovereigns in place of three hundred, and the ecclesiastical princes had entirely disappeared. Three great states—Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden—had been founded in the south, but many small princes still remained in the north. The left bank of the Rhine, which had been directly subject to French rule, still possessed the benefit of the Code Napoléon, with the blessings of a regular and uniform administration, while the sovereigns of southern Germany had not altogether lost the inspiration of the Power which created them. Nor were the thrones of Germany entirely national: the King of Denmark reigned in Holstein, the King of England in Hanover, and the King of Holland in Luxemburg. Many Germans had ardently desired the unity of the country, but how was it to be effected, and who was to be the head of it? Two great Powers were striving for this position, and the rivalry between them has only been settled in our own day.

At the Congress of Vienna Germany felt the necessity of forming a new state which should hold a distinguished and responsible position in the councils of Europe, and should be able, if necessary, to resist the attacks of France, formidable even under the restored Bourbons. But the precise character which this state should assume was a matter of long and serious debate. Baron Stein, one of the principal liberators of Germany, was anxious to restore the Empire, with a Directory of the chief princes to manage affairs of common interest. But the Emperor of Austria did not desire to establish a form of government in which the influence of the King of Prussia would be superior to his own, while the smaller German princes were averse to surrendering any portion of the independence which they had gained by the dissolution of the Empire in

1806. After long discussion, on June 18th, 1815, the very day of the Battle of Waterloo, an act of confederation was agreed between the sovereign princes and the free towns, which united them in a permanent alliance called the Germanic Confederation (*Der Deutsche Bund*), the object of which was destined to be the safeguarding of external and internal security and the independence and integrity of the states of which it was composed.

Duties of the *Bundestag*.

The constitutional organ of the Confederation was the Federal Assembly, known in Germany as the *Bundestag*, which sat permanently at Frankfort, and was attended by representatives from each state, under the presidency of Austria. In the discussion of ordinary affairs the eleven largest states had a vote each, and the rest six votes between them. Important matters were decided in what was called a "Plenum," in which, out of sixty-nine votes, Austria and the five kingdoms, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover and Würtemberg, had four votes each, the five states next in importance three each, the next three two, and all the rest one each. It was the business of the assembly to draw up the fundamental laws and organic institutions of the Confederation, with reference to all its affairs—foreign, military and domestic—but each state retained its own army, its own government, and its diplomatic arrangements. There was no great Federal tribunal, such as, under the old Empire, had existed at Wetzlar, and the Confederation sent no ambassadors to foreign Powers. The princes remained practically sovereigns, and the Bundestag was only a congress of their ambassadors.

The Federal Assembly ought to have met on September 1st, 1815; but the first meeting did not take place till November 5th, 1816. It was held in the palace of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, in the Eschenheimer Gasse at Frankfort, the home of the Austrian Embassy, and met generally twice a week. As the Confederation had no arms of its own it used those of Austria, and it had a thoroughly Austrian complexion. It soon became a byword for inertness and inefficiency, but it was too restive for Metternich, who warned the members against over haste and the dangers of a meddlesome disposition. Nothing could be done without the unanimous consent of all the members. In order to veto it was only necessary to abstain from voting, a method which was largely followed by the smaller states. The slowness of its operations was notorious. The officials of the Imperial Court of Justice claimed the arrears due to them from the dissolution of the German Empire in 1806 to the year 1816, but the claims were not satisfied till the year 1831; the war debt contracted between 1792

and 1801 was not paid till 1843; the obligations incurred in the Thirty Years' War were not finally liquidated till 1850; the fortresses for which France had paid in 1815 were not built in 1825, because the Bundestag had not made up its mind as to the comparative merits of Ulm and Rastadt.

Varied Forms of Government.

Each sovereign prince was master of the Government of his own dominion, and could give his people what constitution he pleased. The various Governments which prevailed may be divided into three classes. In the first, which was pure absolutism, the prince reigned alone with his functionaries, and without any control or any meeting of Chambers. Such was the government of Austria and Prussia, and of some of the northern princes, notably the Elector of Hesse, who summoned his Chambers in 1816, but dismissed them immediately afterwards and governed by himself. The greater part of the northern princes adopted the principle of *Landstände*, or assemblies of estates, formed of the notables of the country, who met for the purpose of voting supertaxes and guaranteeing loans, with a certain power of asking for the redress of grievances, but no efficient power of redressing them. A few princes, especially in the south, gave their countries a written constitution after the model of France, but in these the prince always remained sovereign, he chose whom he pleased for ministers, and reserved to himself the power of violating laws. The Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the friend of Goethe, had taken the lead in this liberal movement, had given his subjects a constitution and placed it under the guarantee of the Confederation. His Chambers had some real power, and he abolished the censorship of the Press. Efforts were made to follow this example, but self-government did not come to birth till after many struggles and long debates. Eventually constitutions of a more or less liberal character were established in Bavaria in May, 1818; in Baden in August, 1818; in Würtemberg in 1819; and in Hesse-Darmstadt in 1820.

"Holy Alliance" Resented.

The results of the Congress of Vienna were a bitter disappointment to all German Liberals. A system of reactionary government was established in nearly all the members of the Confederation. This was owing to the predominant influence of Austria, and Austria was controlled by Metternich. Germany had risen against Napoleon with all the enthusiasm of youth. The period of illumination, the risings of 1813 and 1814, are classical examples of a nation striving to secure freedom of government. But as a reward for its devotion to, and its sacrifices in, the cause of liberty it found itself without a national existence, cut up into tiny states, ground down by officials, by police, and by privileged classes, with-

out political rights or equality before the law. The Holy Alliance was not the kind of result which the War of Liberation had been conducted to attain. It appeared to the German people as an ill-omened conspiracy of princes against the rights and liberties of their subjects. It did not receive the approval of the two sections of German patriots, either those who desired a restoration of the German Empire, with reformed institutions, or those who preferred a constitutional government upon the English model. The throng of the disaffected was swelled by the mediatised princes who had lost their sovereign power, and by the nobles who had lost their privileges. Prussia had taken the lead in the national rising against Napoleon, and the hopes of the patriots had been fixed on her; but she betrayed their expectations and attached herself to the cause of Metternich and reaction. Her unstable and impulsive king, Frederick William III., neglected and slighted the men who had been most forward in the assertion of national liberty, while statesmen of a reactionary complexion were decorated with titles and honours. The time for framing a liberal constitution was indefinitely postponed.

Students' Union.

The love of liberty, which seemed to be merely smouldering or even extinguished in the German people, still glowed in the hearts of a small body of enthusiastic youths, the students of the German universities. They detested and despised the cowardly compromises and the half-hearted humility with which political affairs were conducted, and proclaimed themselves the hope of the Fatherland. Arndt, the maker of their songs, became their chosen leader. With him they clamoured for a united Germany, for the freedom which God had given them, for the bravery and piety of their forefathers; with him they detested coquetting with the foreigner. Their other leader was Father Jahn, the inventor of *Turnen*, the German gymnastics. He was a German of the old type, who taught them by example and precept to steel their muscles, to run long distances, to train their bodies as if for an Olympic victory. With the motto "*Frisch, frei, fröhlich, fromm*," dressed in unbleached tunics, hardened by moderation in food and drink, they spread abroad the noble art of "turning," and sought to re-establish the equality of human education. The first *Turnplatz* was established in the neighbourhood of Berlin, but they soon sprang up all over the country. The universities of Kiel and Jena gave Father Jahn an honorary degree; but it would probably have been better if he had never lectured: his example was better than his sermons.

An idea arose of giving to the whole body of German students that unity which it was not yet possible to give to the German

nation. Thus took its rise the *Burschenschaft*, or Association of Students, which was to include the youth of all the universities of the Fatherland. A German student in his freshman's year is called a *fuchs*, or fox; in his second a *bursch*, or man, as it may be translated. The students used their political freedom to form a community characterised by a scientific and progressive patriotism, with a strict morality founded on religion.

The Jena Celebrations.

The Jena *Burschenschaft* was founded on June 12th, 1815, six days before the Battle of Waterloo. The night passed in singing Arndt's patriotic songs, and the banner which was waved over them was the black, red and gold tricolour, now the flag of united Germany, the colours having been those of Lützow's free corps. Giessen caught the enthusiasm from Jena, and it soon spread through the universities of the Fatherland. In 1817, the three hundredth anniversary of the German Reformation was celebrated with great enthusiasm. As a part of this celebration, a festival was held on October 18th, the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, at the castle of the Wartburg, near Eisenach, where Luther was confined for safety, and where he was believed to have fought with the devil. The Catholic universities were naturally excluded, and in Prussia Berlin alone answered to the call; but the assembly was numerously attended. Prayers and Luther's hymn, "*Ein' feste Burg*," opened the proceedings. Speeches were made, songs were sung, and at the close of the festivities the books of Kotzebue, Haller, and the other writers who had defended absolutism were burned in a bonfire consisting of pigtails, corsets, corporals' sticks, and other emblems of the military regime. The students met again on the following day, in the great hall which had witnessed the shame of Tannhäuser. There were more speeches and more songs, and, after determining to publish a students' journal at Jena, the young men separated with many embraces and tears, after the German fashion. Those who took part in this festival remembered it as the May Day of their youth. But their rulers thought otherwise. Munich began the battle and Dresden followed. Metternich and Gentz warned fathers not to entrust their sons to such dangerous seminaries as Jena. The King of Prussia joined the ranks of the opposition. But Karl August remained firm. The only step he took was to forbid the appearance of the student journal.

It is difficult to restrain enthusiasm within due limits, however respectable may have been its origin. The hatred of the students was directed against two so-called Russian spies, who had made themselves conspicuous in denouncing the excesses of the *Burschen-*

schaft. These were Stourdza, a Moldavian magnate, and Kotzebue, a well-known German writer, who supported the privileges of princes and nobles. Kotzebue had been a violent opponent of Napoleon. He was now being paid by the Tsar to send him periodical reports on the literary condition of Germany. He treated the new movement of the students with the most irritating contempt, and a war arose between the journals on either side, the details of which need not detain us. In the meantime, Karl August invited the students to Weimar, to celebrate the birth of a grandson by a torchlight procession, and a general German *Burschenschaft* was founded, which was described as the free union into a whole of all the German youths who were receiving serious education at the universities, based on the relations of the German youth to the coming unity of the German people.

Assassination of Kotzebue.

Karl Foller, one of the founders of the movement at Giessen, became at this time Professor of Roman Law at Jena, and defended assassination as a legitimate defence against tyranny. All this worked in the mind of a student named Sand, the son of an official in the law courts at Wunsiedel, who had made up for the enforced idleness of a sickly childhood by overwork. A theological student in Tübingen, he had taken part in the campaign in France in 1815, and then gone to Erlangen. He represented the Erlangen students at the Wartburg, and then attended the university of Jena. Already, in May, 1818, he cherished the idea of killing Kotzebue and some other traitors with the sword. The murder of the man who, in his mind, was the embodiment of everything which he detested became a fixed idea. He took a solemn leave of his friends at the beginning of March and went to Mannheim, to which place Kotzebue had removed from Jena. On March 29th, 1819, he approached the unsuspecting victim with a letter and, crying out, " Traitor to the Fatherland ! " stabbed him as he was reading it. He had originally intended to escape, but when the son of the murdered man rushed upon him with a cry of horror, he turned the dagger upon himself. He fell to the ground from loss of blood and, crying out to the assembled crowd, " Long live the German Fatherland ! " again attempted suicide. He survived, however, to be executed on May 20th, 1819, persisting in the nobleness of his action.

Such was the political inexperience of the *Burschenschaft* that this gruesome scene was glorified into an act of heroism. Sand was compared with Brutus, Harmodius and Aristogiton. Even grave professors shed a tear of pity over the murderer. But it led to the persecution of the democrats, and attempts at consti-

tutional reform which had been made in Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and other German States were now indefinitely shelved.

Metternich Moves.

Metternich heard of Kotzebue's murder at Rome, where he was staying with the Emperor Francis. It seemed to him more dangerous than any number of revolutions in Italy. He dreaded the education of a generation of revolutionists in Germany unless strong measures were adopted. However, with characteristic cynicism, he used the general horror which the deed excited to strike a fatal blow at constitutional reform and the freedom of the Press. Matters were made worse by the attempt, on July 1st, of Karl Loning, a chemist at Schwalbach, to assassinate Ibell, Prime Minister of Nassau. Frederick William III., King of Prussia, had long been tempted by the signs of disorder which surrounded him. A meeting took place at Teplitz, in which the aged Hardenberg, the Minister of Prussia, bowed before the stronger will of Metternich. What was called a "Punctuation" was drawn up on August 1st. It was really a declaration of the principles on which the courts of Austria and Prussia were determined to conduct themselves in the internal affairs of the German League. It was determined to hold a conference of the ten larger German Powers at Carlsbad, which was not far from Teplitz, from August 6th to August 13th. In this fatal week much harm was done.

The "Black Commission."

The thirteenth article of the Act of Confederation had conceded to all the German States the power of making provincial constitutions. Metternich and Gentz could not abrogate this article, but they proceeded to interpret it. They drew a distinction between a Parliament of Estates and a Parliament of Deputies. The first was ancient, historical, German, and divine; the second modern, revolutionary, French, and inconsistent with the German Federation and the principle of monarchy. Besides this interpretation of Article 13, resolutions were passed at Carlsbad to limit the freedom of the Press and to restrict the excesses in universities and schools. A central committee was established at Mainz to hold in check all demagogic and revolutionary movements. This "Black Commission," as it was called, sat at Mainz for ten years, and created more conspiracies than it discovered. The Carlsbad resolutions were adopted by the Bundestag on September 20th. Metternich had triumphed, and the German people bowed their necks to the yoke of slavery; but these short-sighted and unconstitutional measures became in due time the parents of a more dangerous revolution.

The announcement of these decrees caused consternation throughout Germany. Niebuhr predicted that the establishment

of these conditions between government and subjects could only produce a life without love, without patriotism, without joy, and full of misunderstanding and discontent. Stein declared that the most important step for the peace of Germany was to put an end to the reign of arbitrary government. Dahlmann and Rotteck made powerful protests. Schlegel resigned his professorship at Bonn, on the ground that it was better to jump out of the window than to be thrown out. The decisions of Carlsbad began to be put into effect. The Moderates lost all hope of a peaceful settlement. Republican ideas began to make their appearance for the first time. German princes, from whom so much had been expected, had now come forward as the sworn enemies of popular freedom. The noble, patriotic feeling of the War of Liberation had ended in smoke; the blood of Leipzig and Waterloo had been shed in vain. Prussia led the van in reaction as she had before in liberty. The *Turnhallen*—the gymnastic halls—were closed; the German tricolour was proscribed; Father Jahn had to take refuge in Switzerland; distinguished professors were deprived of their offices, and were subjected to police supervision; the sermons of Schleiermacher were delivered in the presence of official censors, and the sale of a new edition of Fichte's *Address to the German People* was forbidden. Even Stein and Gneisenau did not escape rebuke. To whisper "German nation" was a crime; to work for it was high treason. Informers were highly rewarded. The *Burschenschaft* of Jena met for the last time in the *Rosensaal* at Jena, and sang that noble hymn, set to the most pathetic of melodies, which still lives as the high-water mark of German students' songs, and declares in dignified verse, "We had built a stately house; our house is ruined, but the spirit lives in all of us, and our fortress is God."

The Vienna Conference.

After the Carlsbad Congress all the members of the Confederation were summoned to meet at Vienna, where the discussions lasted from November, 1819, to May, 1820. Their results did not satisfy Metternich, but the sovereign rights of princes were insisted upon; the latter were declared to be independent of Parliamentary control, and the duty was impressed upon the central authority of preserving internal order if it should be endangered. Freedom of expression was not to be admitted in the Chambers nor in the Press.

The years which we have described, full of sad experiences and disappointed hopes, naturally produced a feeling of depression. Each member of the European family seems to have been less prosperous and successful in achieving the results of progress than its efforts deserved. But the outlook was more hopeful if

we regard the European family as a whole. Science, art and literature made great advance in the early years of the restoration, and we find signs of similar improvements and achievements in the social and political spheres. Metternich, Castlereagh, and those who agreed with them believed in the existence of a great European conspiracy which would prove the ruin of the world. Wellington saw, in the events of Peterloo, signs of coming danger, and Metternich was filled with dismay at the murder of Kotzebue, and at the obvious activity of the revolutionary spirit in Germany, Italy, France and England. The morose and haunting terror which inspired those who, for the time being, had the destinies of Europe in their hands was the cause of coercion and persecution. But, as a counterpoise, there was arising a real, though secret, understanding between all liberally-minded people, without distinction of nationality. As early as 1818 Béranger had sung of the "holy alliance of peoples" against their ungrateful sovereigns. A year later Börne said:

A Silent League of Brotherhood.

"There is, in truth, a conspiracy, extending not only all over Germany, but over the whole of Europe. The conspirators do not know each other; they never see or speak with each other; they have no signs, no common methods, no common objects to hold them together, and yet they are brothers—brothers, I mean, in sentiment. This league is not directed against the power of princes, but against the holding of power in the hands of State officials. It is directed against a condition of lawlessness, against arbitrary government, and, notwithstanding all the police arrangements of Europe, it will effect its end."

The members of this secret league of spiritual sympathisers were filled with pleasure at the unexpected revolutions in Spain, Portugal and Italy, and by the rising of the Greeks. They, however, perhaps overrated the significance of these events, and expected too much from them. Our narrative must now turn its attention to these revolutionary movements, which were more startling and more picturesque, if not intrinsically more important, than those which we have so far described.

CHAPTER V

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

THE movement of the French Revolution in its progress over Europe affected Spain last. She remained asleep in an awakening Europe. The reforms of Charles III., who attempted, in the eighteenth century, to redress the crying evils of government, education, agriculture and commerce, had disappeared without leaving a trace of their short existence. Spain combined great differences within herself with a common resistance to the external world. The haughty Castilian was distinct from the excitable Andalusian, the rough citizen of Aragon from the hardworking Galician, but they all joined hands in their opposition to outside influences. They bore in stolid silence the tyrannous rule of the King, the camarilla, the nobles, and the clergy.

The Revolution and Spain.

Napoleon was compelled by the force of circumstances to inspire new life into this dying body, and to remedy the Mezentian marriage of the family compact. But he was a foreigner and the nation was against him. In Great Britain's struggle against Napoleon she took as her allies the worst characters in the Peninsula, associated herself with monks and robbers, and regarded as enemies the most intelligent and most enlightened members of the community. Wellington, with his never-failing insight, recognised that he was fighting for a lost cause. In the midst of the struggle an attempt was made at Cadiz to call into existence a national democracy, which was equally opposed to the priest-ridden tyranny of the old regime and the enlightened militarism of French rule. The Cortes of Cadiz contained two parties—the Tories, called Serviles by their opponents, and the Liberals. The latter preponderated, and drew up the famous Constitution of 1812, which was a copy of the French Constitution of 1791. This Constitution was the model towards which the Liberal spirits of Europe looked for many years. The Cortes declared themselves sovereign and indissoluble, and abolished the censorship of the Press, seignorial rights, and other privileges of the nobles. The Constitution declared that the sovereignty resided in the nation: the King was placed at the head of the executive, but he was to act in all things by the advice of his ministers. Legisla-

Constitution of 1812.

tion was the prerogative of the Cortes, and the King was given a suspensive veto. Parliament consisted of a single Chamber, elected at two stages by universal suffrage; the deputies were chosen for two years, and were not re-eligible, and the ministers did not form part of the assembly. While the Cortes were not sitting their powers passed to a permanent deputation. No member of the assembly was allowed to accept any office from the King.

Some parts of the legislation of Cadiz were undoubtedly beneficent. Exemption from taxes founded on privilege was abolished, universal military service was introduced, a proper system of education was established, and the burden of feudal rights was also greatly alleviated. Yet there was little real approach to toleration. The Catholic religion was recognised as the one true religion of the Spanish people, and the exercise of other religions was forbidden. Some effort was made to reduce the number of monasteries, the Inquisition was done away with, but heresy became a crime. These measures were opposed by the clergy and the nobles, and the party of the Serviles grew more powerful. Unfortunately, Wellington, in his hatred of Jacobinism, played into the hands of the reactionaries. In the Cortes summoned at Madrid in January, 1814, the Liberals were in a minority and were opposed by Wellington.

Return of Ferdinand VII.

Ferdinand VII.'s return to Spain was most disastrous. He had been badly educated in a corrupt and quarrelsome Court, he feared the strong and bullied the weak. During his confinement at Valençay, Talleyrand's object had been to amuse him: he never read, and wearied even of picture-books. He spent much time in embroidering with his own hand a robe of white silk for the statue of the Virgin at Valençay. His confessor, Ostolaza, announced this with pride to the Spanish people, and the news aroused great enthusiasm. His subjects were never tired of praising his innocence and virtue.

The Treaty of Valençay had provided that Ferdinand should not be free until he had reached Madrid and taken the oath to the Constitution. Up to that time the powers of the Regency were to continue, but this provision became a dead letter. The moment he crossed the frontier, on March 22nd, 1814, he was received with acclamation, and San Carlos, the retrograde minister, was always at his side. He was advised by Palafox, the defender of Saragossa, not to swear to the Constitution; and Count Montijo, Palafox's brother-in-law, wished for the unlimited power of the Crown. The Serviles presented him with a document which

denounced the Constitution and the Cortes as the work of the devil. As it happened, the Liberals were apathetic, and, at the beginning of May, Ferdinand took the bold step of denouncing the Constitution and the Cortes. He called himself the father of his loyal nation, and promised security for freedom and safety of person and property. He showed his sincerity by introducing the censorship of the Press and by arresting at night some fifty of the most prominent Liberals. The people of Madrid applauded their "sweet, holy Ferdinand," and the prisoners were insulted by the crowd. His journey from Aranjuez to Madrid was a triumphal progress. Reaction set in apace. The Liberals and the Josefinos were persecuted with much barbarity by guerilleros, towns and villages were burned, the country was laid waste, and bridges and fountains were destroyed. The Spanish people relapsed into a state of semi-civilisation.

A Retrogressive Policy.

San Carlos and Macanaz were ministers, but the power was in the hands of a camarilla, consisting of the King's lackeys and chamberlains, who delighted him with their jesting, the Duke of Alagon, the captain of the guard, his physicians, his buffoon, and his confessor. It was responsible for the decrees enforcing domiciliary visits and arrests, and formed the fountain of honour. Its members grew rich by exactions and extortions. One of their first steps was to re-establish the monasteries, to free the clergy from taxation, to renew the Inquisition. Besides the official *Gazette*, only two newspapers were permitted to be published—the *Atalaya*, edited by the sanguinary monk, Augustin da Castro, and the *Procuador*, controlled by the head of the secret police. Then the Jesuits were readmitted, and half their property was restored. The Council of Castile was recalled with the Duke of Infantado at its head, the municipalities were stripped of their independence, and captains-general were placed at the head of the provinces.

Still worse was the persecution of the Liberals, whom Wellington in vain endeavoured to protect. Tried and acquitted by the regular courts, the King arbitrarily intervened, and with his own hand wrote a decree of condemnation on December 17th, 1814, by which they were banished, or imprisoned, or deported to the unhealthy presidios of Africa. These sentences were immediately carried out, and the prisoners were not allowed to provide clothes or linen. Among them were some of the most distinguished Spaniards, members of the Regency like Agar and Circar, members of the Cortes like Argüelles, Martinez de la Rosa and Herreros, poets like Quintana.

Some signs of discontent appeared in Cadiz in the autumn of

1814, but they were crushed by a revolutionary tribunal. The disaffection in the army was not so easy to subdue. Some regiments remained for months without pay; the men had no straw to sleep upon; and soldiers of Liberal opinion, however distinguished, were persecuted. Generals Valdez and Porlier were arrested, Villalba and O'Donoju were banished, Alava was attacked, and Espoz y Mina was deprived of his command. The latter tried to seize Pamplona and to read the Constitution from its ramparts, but he was forced to take refuge in France, where he was protected. Secret societies were formed, and Diaz Porlier, implicated in one of them, was executed in October, 1815. General Lacy also attempted an insurrection and was executed in Majorca.

Spain's Pitiable Plight.

Macanaz and San Carlos were overthrown by the camarilla. San Carlos was succeeded by Cevallos, who had served Godoy and Ferdinand, Joseph Bonaparte, and the Patriots. But the ministers were continually changed, according to the whim of the Sovereign, who lived in a fool's paradise, caring about nothing except the satisfaction of his humours, the tales of informers, and the opening of private letters. The condition of the country was terrible; from Somosierra to Madrid the land was a desert, unrelieved by trees, gardens, or houses; here and there a ruined hut or a few dirty villages served but to accentuate the solitude. Except the great roads which led from Madrid to Bayonne, Lisbon, Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Seville, only a few permanent ways were practicable for carriages. There were no inns, and bands of brigands, composed of guerilleros, starving soldiers, and unpaid workmen from the royal docks, abounded.

The mass of the people had no education. Many believed in miracles and amulets, ghosts and devils. According to the census of 1791 there were, in the Province of Cordova, 109 monasteries, but only forty-nine elementary schools; out of 10,500,000 inhabitants, with 3,700,000 children under sixteen, only 425,000 were receiving education. But matters had grown worse during the next generation. Secondary education was entirely in the hands of the clergy, the universities were occupied with barren scholastic learning, students begged their bread as wandering musicians or strolling players. Commerce was crushed by monopolies and holidays, and Church festivals undermined all energy. At such a juncture it was almost inevitable that Spain should begin to lose her colonies, which had been to her a source of wealth and strength.

Napoleon's conquest of the Mother Country inflamed the desire for independence which had long existed in the Spanish

colonies. Juntas had formed themselves in the Caracas, Buenos Ayres, New Grenada and Chile, with the ostensible object of recognising the right of Ferdinand VII., while in Mexico the Indians were against the Government. The Cortes, with their Liberal Constitution, had whetted the wish for separation; but this movement was checked by the return of the rightful Sovereign. For a time they were allowed to hope for reforms, but there succeeded a White Terror fiercer and more intolerant than that of Spain itself. Military governors, sent by the King, surpassed each other in merciless extortion, in fiendish tortures, in barbaric executions. Outward obedience was established; but the fire of rebellion smouldered, especially in La Plata; while San Martin, Paez and Bolivar secured the independence of Chile and Venezuela. These feelings were fostered by the Americans and the Portuguese.

A Military Rising.

Meanwhile, in Madrid, one mushroom ministry followed another, and the fruitless attempts at reform appeared actually to increase bad government. The discontent which smouldered in the whole nation was most strongly felt at the expedition which was being collected at Cadiz for the purpose of reducing the northern colonies in South America. The troops were fired by their proximity to the birthplace of the Constitution of 1812; they knew that their expedition might result in disaster and death. They had little to eat, their pay was intercepted by the greed of officials, their sense of grievance was fanned by their officers, Quiroga, Arco, Aguero, and the brothers San Miguel, and the revolted colonies corrupted them with gold. They chose for their leader Quiroga, who was then undergoing a mild imprisonment. He was to escape on New Year's Day, 1820, and march to the island of Leon; but he was prevented by rain, and only reached his destination on January 3rd. He took the town of San Fernando and captured the Minister of Marine, but refrained from laying siege to Cadiz, and a rising in the town proved unsuccessful.

On the same day, Colonel Rafael del Riego, a young Asturian, was more successful. On January 1st, 1820, he proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, and was able to join Quiroga on January 6th. The national army which they commanded had no cavalry or artillery; many deserted, and there were few recruits. Cadiz remained impregnable. On January 27th, Riego set out with 5,000 men to march through Andalusia, proclaiming everywhere the Constitution of 1812, but finding few supporters. His expedition was a failure; after fruitless marches he was compelled, on March 11th, to disband his troops.

Submission of the King.

But collapse in the south was compensated for by a vigorous rising in the north. On February 21st a revolt in Corunna established a Junta and the Constitution of 1812, and other places in Galicia, Ferrol, Vigo, Pontevedra and Tuy followed this example. The commandant of Santiago, Count San Roman, retired to Orense on March 5th. There was a rising in Saragossa, the capital of Aragon. In Barcelona, Castaños, the conqueror of Baylen, put himself at the head of the movement, and in Pamplona the Viceroy, Ezpeleta, did likewise; but their aim was to control the agitation and use it for democratic purposes. The King was obliged to bow to the storm, and on March 7th issued a decree promising the immediate calling of the Cortes. But this concession was too late, and General Ballesteros informed his Sovereign that the army was no longer to be relied upon. At midnight of the same day the alarmed King, in order to avoid disturbances, and to meet the universal will of the people, declared his readiness to accept the Constitution of 1812.

Next morning the news was received in Madrid with general rejoicing. The Constitution was exhibited in the great square, and carried about the streets as a sacred relic for the adoration of the people, while the constitutional King was hailed with applause as he drove in the Prado and Don Carlos was greeted with hisses. In the Café Lorenzini, which was their headquarters, however, the agitators expressed their doubts as to the sincerity of the Sovereign. It was true he had punished political offenders, but he had done nothing else. Six men, chosen by the people, undertook to demand the restoration of the Constitutional Council of 1814, and also exacted from the King an oath of adherence to the Constitution. The Inquisition was prohibited and its victims were released from prison. Finally, a provisional Junta was set up to assist the Government until the Cortes should meet. The King's uncle, the Cardinal de Bourbon, was made President, and Ballesteros was his representative. Since the King had made an absolute surrender, the ninth of March was celebrated as the day of returning liberty.

Massacre at Cadiz.

Similar scenes took place in the provinces. The Radicals triumphed at Saragossa; at Pamplona, Mina, who had come from France, supplanted Ezpeleta; at Barcelona, Castaños was deposed in favour of General Villa Campo. Riego heard of the revolution in the solitudes of the Sierra Morena, returned to Cordova, proclaimed the Constitution along with O'Donoju, and soon afterwards entered Seville in triumph. The universal joy was damped by a terrible event, which took place at Cadiz. On

TRIUMPH OF SPANISH DEMOCRACY

March 11th, the fête of the Constitution was to be celebrated in the city square. Three deputies were sent by Quiroga to represent his army, and they joined the crowd in the plaza, where every window was hung with tapestry and flags. Suddenly the soldiers of the regiment "del Lealdad" and of the Guides, issuing from their barracks, fired upon the people. Many of them were deserters from Quiroga and probably had been urged to this infamy by General Campana. The mob dispersed and ran away, the soldiers following and massacring without mercy, treating the town exactly as if it had been taken by assault. These diabolical scenes were repeated on the following day, and eventually the killed amounted to 460 and the wounded to upwards of a thousand.

A Democratic Government

A Liberal Ministry was established, many of its members being taken from dungeons. Argüelles, from his eloquence in the former Cortes called "the Divine," became Minister of the Interior, and Garcia Herreros Minister of Justice. Those who had been previously persecuted were now honoured with office. The poet Quintana obtained a seat in the Junta which was to direct the censure of the Press; Riego and three of his companions were made field-marshals. The purification of the Government was carried out in every branch of political and municipal administration, the army at Cadiz was broken up, every Spaniard was required to swear allegiance to the Constitution, and the Afrancesados, to the number of 6,000, were allowed to return to Spain.

When the Cortes met, on July 9th, the party of the Moderates greatly preponderated. To it belonged the President, the Archbishop of Seville, and the Vice-President Quiroga. Not a single grandee of Spain was elected; very few of the landed nobility were returned, and only three bishops. Martinez de la Rosa was the leader of the Moderates, and next to him were Calatrava, an experienced statesman, and the Marquis Toreno, a man of light and learning. Nevertheless, the new Government found its efficiency much impeded by the character of the Constitution, which, in the desire to secure the partition of powers, had excluded the ministers from the assembly. The party of the Exaltados, though not equal to the Moderates either in number or talents, made up for this by activity and rhetoric. They were led by Romero Aluente, from Aragon, and Moreno Guerro, who had been secretary to Ballesteros.

At the end of August, Riego came to Madrid with the intention of telling the King and the ministers some unwelcome truths.

and was received with enthusiasm by the clubs. On Sunday, September 3rd, after a triumphal progress through the town, he was honoured by a banquet in the Fontana d'Oro, the excitement being increased by news of the revolution in Portugal. He then proceeded to the theatre to see the play of " Henry III. of Castile," which was full of political allusions. A Riego hymn, analogous to the Garibaldi hymn of a later date, was greeted with applause, as was also the "*Tragala, perro*" ("Swallow it, you hound")—the "ça ira" of Spain—Riego standing up with his whole staff and joining in the chorus. These excesses turned public opinion against the Exaltados. The clubs were placed under strict surveillance, and Riego was deprived of his command in Galicia and sent to Oviedo. He left Madrid on September 6th.

Suppression of Monasteries.

The next great agitation was caused by the law against religious communities, brought forward at the beginning of October, with regard to the brotherhoods of mendicant friars. It limited their numbers, forbade their organisations under General Superiors, and promised those who left them a yearly pension. On the other hand, the houses of all other Orders, including the military Orders of Calatrava and Alcantara, were suppressed, and the foundation of new Orders was forbidden. Only eight Orders of special historical interest were excepted from these decrees. Their property was used for the liquidation of the national debt, and their archives, books, and works of art were given to public museums. Though convents of nuns were untouched, they were placed under the surveillance of bishops. Shortly before this a law had been passed, directed against primogeniture in the transmission of great landed property and estates, and the creation of trusts. These statutes, taken together, were attempts to liberate the soil of Spain, to break up the large tracts of country which were controlled either by non-resident magnates or by the chilling influence of the dead hand.

Hitherto the King had posed as a friend of the Revolution, although he hated it in his heart. By the Constitution he was allowed an interval of thirty days for recording his acceptance of a law, and was now urged to reject the proposed measure about religious Orders by the papal nuncio—his confessor, Cirilo, who threatened him with the pains of hell—by Don Carlos, and the Queen. On the other hand, the ministers were supported by the French Ambassador, and declared that the King was lost if he vetoed the Bill. They offered, however, to add to the number of eight Orders already exempted. At length, when the ministers threatened to resign, and Ballesteros said that the

troops could not be depended upon, the King gave his consent, but secretly determined upon revenge.

The King Yields.

Ferdinand now retired to the Escurial, from which he refused to move. He ought to have closed the Cortes in person, but excused his absence on the ground of ill-health. The Cortes ended their session on November 9th, leaving a provisional committee to act during the recess. The King took a decisive step on November 16th by removing Vigodet, Captain-General of Madrid, from his post, and giving it to Carvajal, a bitter enemy of the Constitution. In answer to this stroke the King was pressed to dismiss his first Chamberlain, Count Miranda, and his confessor, Saez, and to summon an extraordinary Cortes. Madrid seemed ready for a revolution, or for a march on the Escurial to bring the King back. The King yielded and recalled Vigodet, and dismissed Miranda and Saez.

The "Sons of Padilla."

On returning to Madrid on November 21st, the monarch was received with coldness. When he appeared on the balcony of the palace, cries were raised of "The Constitution or Death!" "Long live Riego!" and the book of the Constitution was held aloft and kissed. The Queen burst into tears, and the King was beside himself with rage. The Exaltados lifted their heads again, Riego being appointed Captain-General of Aragon and his intimate friends, Galliano and Beltran de Lis, promoted to similar posts. The Serviles were persecuted, and Father Cirilo, the confessor, and the Duke of Infantado were banished. The Exaltados founded a new society of the Communeros, a name which recalled memories of the great rising of the sixteenth century and its leader Padilla. The "Sons of Padilla," as they were called, were compelled to swear, on entering the club, to avenge themselves on tyrants and to kill every traitor. The club possessed newspapers and had branches in all the provinces. The whole country was in a terrible condition, full of beggars and brigands. There was no money for mending roads or bridges; a few children were taught the Constitution by heart, but hundreds of thousands could neither read nor write; credit disappeared; a new era might be at hand, but dark clouds heralded its dawn.

Portugal's Condition.

A similar course of events was taking place in Portugal. The Peninsular War had brought disaster to that country. The population had decreased by 200,000; the number of inhabited houses had been reduced by thousands. Not only was agriculture in a backward state, and the olive plantations and vineyards neglected, but the tenants of lands belonging to the Crown, the high nobility, the orders of knighthood and the

monasteries groaned beneath their heavy burdens. The roads were bad, the rivers unregulated, and large tracts of country were given up to sheep and goats, while as for commerce it could hardly be said to exist.

Portugal and Brazil.

When the French entered Portugal in 1807 the Prince Regent and the Royal Family set sail for Rio de Janeiro, carrying with them large sums of money. His first act in the new country was to open all Brazilian ports to friendly and neutral vessels, and a close alliance was entered into between Portugal and England. Brazil was made a kingdom on December 16th, 1815, and in the following year John VI., after the death of his mother, succeeded to the Crown. All this was unfavourable to Portugal, which was treated like a step-child instead of like a favoured son. Trade between Portugal and Brazil was reduced by one half, and instead of the 800 ships which entered the Port of Rio every year under the Portuguese flag, there were now only 200. The effects of the Methuen Treaty pressed heavily upon Portugal, Great Britain took her wines, but Portugal obtained all her woollen, cotton, and linen stuffs from the United Kingdom.

Disaffection in Portugal.

The intellectual condition of Portugal was as bad as the economical. In 1812 there were only sixteen printing establishments in the whole country, and only twelve bookshops. The elementary schools, founded by the enlightened Pombal, numbered 873, but the average attendance of children was only ten. The Regency had little power, because their hands were tied from Rio, and the chief authority lay in the hands of the military commander, Marshal Beresford, who was assisted by several Englishmen. There was no navy to speak of, but the army amounted to 59,000 men, a ruinous burden. Beresford's letters to Wellington depict the country in sombre colours. He said the soldiers had no bread, and he feared an attack from Spain. Wellington did his best to encourage him, asserting that without him Portugal would be lost. But Beresford had all the stiffness of an Englishman of the Regency, and his unpopularity was extended to his countrymen. The Portuguese hated the heretical meddlers who had come to save the country and were now destroying it. The centre of disaffection lay in the army, and in 1817 some regiments, destined for Banda Oriental, mutinied.

Anti-English Conspiracy.

A conspiracy was formed between certain Portuguese officers and some civilians, who desired to liberate their country from foreign rule, and took Lieutenant-General Gomez Freire de Andrade as their leader. This was discovered by Beresford, who informed the Regency, and a number of arrests were made. Freire and

several others were condemned and executed; Freire's body was burned and his ashes were thrown into the sea. After this matters proceeded from bad to worse, and, in the spring of 1820 Beresford went to Rio to represent the state of affairs and to procure money.

Independence Proclaimed.

The leaders of the revolution took advantage of his absence, and on August 24th, 1820, there was a rising in Oporto, under Sepulveda. A provisional Junta was formed, and Count Antonio Silveira was elected President. On September 15th, which was always kept as a holiday to celebrate the departure of the French, a rising took place in the garrison of Lisbon under Count Resenda. Cries were raised of "Long live the King and the Constitution!" and at night the whole of the city was illuminated. The Revolutionary Government of Oporto and that of Lisbon now united. When Beresford returned to the Tagus on October 10th, he found there was no place left for him. He alleged the orders of the King, but was informed that the Portuguese nation had reclaimed its independence. He was entreated not to land, even as a private person, and sailed for England on the *Arabella* packet. The departure of Beresford was followed by a *coup d'état*, caused by a wish to introduce the Spanish Constitution. Then there arose a party in favour of uniting Portugal and Spain under the same constitutional King. This was headed by the Jurist, Manoel Fernandez Thomaz, who was connected with the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires, Pando, "the Apostle of Liberalism." Texeira and Cabreira, jealous of Sepulveda, on November 11th surrounded the palace, where the Junta was sitting, with soldiers and cannon. Accordingly the Junta determined to accept the Constitution of Spain, and to give the command of the navy to Texeira, receiving four of his supporters into the Junta.

This step was found to be in advance of public opinion. The corporation and magistrates protested against it and were supported by a majority of the officers of the army, 150 officers and nearly all the civilians resigning their posts. On November 17th its ancient form was restored to the Junta, and it was agreed that the Cortes should be elected according to the Spanish system, one member for every 30,000 inhabitants, but that no other part of the Constitution should be adopted until the Cortes had considered the matter. Silveira now withdrew from motives of health.

The Cortes met on January 26th, 1821. It was by no means Radical in character. The clergy were largely represented, and the Archbishop of Bahia was made President. The Regency

took an oath to maintain the Catholic religion and to support the throne and the name of Braganza. This, however, was on the condition that John VI. should recognise the revolution and the action of the Cortes. He received these proposals favourably, and talked of returning to his country. The Cortes proceeding to draw up the new Constitution without waiting for his consent, the Liberals won a victory over the Corcundas—"the Humpbacks," as the Portuguese Serviles were called from their habit of continually "bowing and scraping." The royal power was strictly limited, and on March 29th the civil, military, and eccelesiastical authorities swore allegiance to the Constitution.

Return of the King.

Now, however, opposition to the Constitution arose on the side of the clergy and nobility. The Patriarch of Lisbon refused to take the oath to the Constitution and was confined in the monastery of Bussaco and afterwards banished. In the meantime the condition of the country continued deplorable. Brigandage was so rife that families did not dare to leave Lisbon to go to their country seats; commerce was at a standstill; justice was delayed, some criminals having been kept seven years in prison without being brought to trial. The folk of Lisbon did not conceal their opinions: they broke the windows of the Papal Nuncio and attacked the house of the Austrian Ambassador, because they would not illuminate in celebration of the King's consent to the Constitution. The Revolution now seized Brazil, and it was fanned by the Crown Prince Pedro. Count Palmella, perhaps the most experienced of Portuguese statesmen, advised his sovereign to yield. The King sailed for Portugal, leaving Pedro in Brazil as Regent, reached Lisbon on July 8th, 1821, and swore obedience to the principles of the Constitution.

CHAPTER VI

ITALY AND NAPLES

ITALY had been called into life by Napoleon. An Italian by origin, with strong Italian sympathies, he was the first statesman to imagine the possibility of Italy's governing herself, and the country which he created still honours his memory. After his fall and the triumph of Austria and the principles of Metternich, there were still some who did not surrender the ideal which Napoleon set up, but there were differences of opinion as to the manner in which it should be realised. Some were in favour of a federation, some of a republic, but no one foresaw what actually came to pass—a unitary State under the leadership of Piedmont.

Restoration of Victor Emmanuel I.

Indeed, the government of Victor Emmanuel I. was not such as to excite enthusiasm. He was penetrated with feudal ideas. During the reign of Napoleon, he had retired to the island of Sardinia, but at the court of Cagliari, where there were not enough tables and chairs to go round, the laws of the greater and lesser entrées were strictly observed. When he returned to Turin there was no improvement. The *ancien régime* was ruthlessly restored. All who were suspected of revolutionary tendencies were driven from office, and twelve most distinguished professors were dismissed from Turin University as Jacobins. The army was purified of Napoleonic elements, guilds were restored, the names of streets were altered, Napoleon's road over Mont Cénis was blocked up, partly from association, partly lest revolutionary ideas should be imported from France. The nobles and clergy were replaced in something of their old position.

The first ministers of the Restoration were Cerruti and Musso, narrow-minded men, devoted to the past. Musso gave way to St. Marsan, and Cerruti to Vidua, who, however, soon made room for Borgarelli, a follower of Cerruti. Discontent first began to show itself in Genoa, which, having been a republic, was joined to Piedmont by the Treaty of Vienna. The old families of Doria, Durazzo and Serra withdrew to their villas, and flourishing factories had to make way for monks and nuns. But a better spirit was shown by the summoning to the Home Office of Prospero Balbo in September, 1819. Strivings towards a Constitution

made themselves felt, and were supported by the Duke Dalberg, the French ambassador, whose wife, a Brignole of Genoa, gave him influence over the best society of that city. His house, whether at Turin or at Genoa, was the centre of Liberal thought. His dispatches expressed the opinion that a Constitution would be the most powerful influence for binding together the several parts of the Piedmontese kingdom and securing independence against Austria. In 1820 the Sardinian Government succeeded in effecting his recall, but before he went he adjured Balbo to follow in his footsteps.

The Hope of Young Italy.

The heir to Victor Emmanuel was his brother, Charles Felix, but at the latter's death the crown would pass to the House of Carignan, the head of which was Prince Charles Albert. He was supposed to be favourable to Liberal ideas; indeed, Metternich endeavoured to prevent his accession by repealing the Salic Law and promising the transference of the crown to the Duke of Modena. But the rights of the House of Carignan had been safeguarded by the Treaty of Vienna.

Charles Albert had lost his father at the age of two, and his mother, a Princess of Courland, was called by Victor Emmanuel the "Jacobin Princess." He had been educated, first in France and then in Geneva, and in this school had learnt to estimate the *ancien régime* at its true value. He received his commission as lieutenant at the hand of Napoleon, and this the King could never forget. Accordingly, he was placed under strict surveillance, and in revenge seemed to lose himself in frivolity, being regarded rather as a Don Juan than as a Hamlet. Dalberg said of him, "His heart is corrupt, he despises mankind, and he does no serious business." At the age of nineteen he was married to a Tuscan princess, and his Liberal sentiments became more apparent. To Gino Capponi, who was attached to his suite in Florence, he said that the Germans must be driven out of Italy, and he adopted the motto of his ancestor, Amadeus VI., "*Je atans mon astre.*" Naturally, the young Liberals looked towards him with hope, and even beyond the frontiers the patriots of Lombardy and Tuscany marked him as their future leader, while from distant lands of exile prophetic voices designated him as the Marcellus of Italy.

No one was more jealous of him than Francis IV., Duke of Modena, son of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand and Beatrice of Este. In the Congress of Vienna he had claimed the ancient territories of the House of Este, the Legations, Genoa, and the Duchy of Milan. He sought to overthrow the succession of the

House of Carignan. Even Metternich was alarmed at his ambitious views. Francis governed his territories as an unscrupulous tyrant, recalled the pre-revolutionary laws, entrusted education to the clergy, and built monasteries; but he did not restore the confiscated property of the Church. He favoured the nobles, but did not give back their possessions. He was a man of great strength of will, stubborn and unscrupulous, and had inherited Massa and Carrara at the death of his mother.

Governments of the Duchies.

The Duchy of Parma was governed by the wife of Napoleon, Marie Louise, who had resumed her rank as an Austrian archduchess. She ruled with some enlightenment, and her legislation is worthy of note. She maintained with the Church the Concordat of 1801, her taxes and her censorship of the Press were moderate, Parma could boast of its University and its library, she encouraged schools and other beneficent institutions, and she built the mighty bridge over the rebellious Taro. Neipperg, a man of horrible character, assisted her in these enterprises. Such advantages consoled her subjects for the presence of an Austrian garrison in Piacenza.

The Duchy of Lucca, which had prospered under Napoleon's sister, Elisa Bacciochi, was now ruled by another Marie Louise, the sister of Ferdinand of Spain. She built seventeen monasteries; on the days of Church festivals all commerce and traffic in the streets of Lucca was stopped. She spent the revenues of her territory on herself, and the only good features of the reign were the improvement of the harbour of Via Reggio, the regulation of the Serchio, and the foundation of a university. By the Treaty of Vienna Lucca was eventually to pass to Tuscany and the Duchess was to receive Parma by way of a compensation. But Napoleon's Marie Louise did not die till 1847.

The Duke of Tuscany was Ferdinand III., the brother of the Emperor of Austria. He did his best to appease Metternich, and was assisted by his Secretary of State, Count Vittorio Fossombroni, a distinguished minister, an engineer, economist, and statesman. His motto was, "The world goes by itself." He had worthy colleagues in Prince Neri Corsini, who represented Tuscany at the Congress of Vienna, and Leonardo Frullani, who gave the finances a surplus of sixteen million lire.

Unfortunately, the French code was abrogated and a suspicious police was established. There was but little self-government in the municipalities, and scarcely anything was done for education. On the other hand, commerce and manufactures were free; roads were made; the marshes of the Chiana were drained;

the condition of the peasants, who were principally small farmers, was good; manufactures of silk, glass, and leather reared their heads; the harbour of Leghorn was improved; the Universities of Pisa and Siena were restored; the Academy of Della Crusca resumed its labours. Rossini illuminated the operatic stage; little money was spent on the army; Giampietro Vieusseux was allowed to establish his reading-room at Florence; the *Antologia* was established on the model of the *Edinburgh Review*. Foremost in this work was Gino Capponi, who, with the help of Vieusseux, made Florence the home of Italian Liberals. Confalonieri, the friend of Capponi, not blind to the faults of the Grand-Ducal government, found, in the valley of the Arno, his favourite home in the midst of a courteous, kind and prosperous community.

Government by Priests.

We hear, on good authority, that Rome was a city of material and moral ruin. The Pope, Pius VII., was a good man, and his chief secretary, Consalvi, a wise and respectable statesman; and the Pontiff had some sympathy with modern ideas. Unfortunately, it was thought necessary at Rome, as elsewhere, to do away with all traces of the Napoleonic government, which was in many respects enlightened and instinct with the spirit of the age. Pius VII. was quite ready to forgive and forget, but in the circumstances in which he was placed it was difficult to do so. Consalvi had been ambassador at the Congress of Vienna, which had assured the possession of the Marches and the Legations to the Holy See. After his return the Pope issued a *motu proprio* on July 6th, 1816, which gave a new constitution to the papal dominions. It attempted to reconcile the old and the new, a difficult, if not an impossible, problem.

But a fundamental error was made by placing the whole machine of government in the hands of the priests. These arrangements were strongly condemned by Niebuhr, who was at that time Prussian Ambassador at Rome. He said that the place of a brilliant aristocracy, endowed with fortune and not devoid of education, was taken by an uneducated proletariat, paid for their services, and that things became worse every day. The populace soon became aware that the cassock had no magic to turn those who wore it into honest and capable officials, and Consalvi complained to Metternich that the government of the priests caused great discontent. But the reforms of Consalvi, however inadequate, met with the opposition of the older cardinals, who formed the party of the "Zelanti," led by Mattei, della Genga, Somaglia, and Severoli, and the great Roman families

were opposed to him because he had destroyed their feudal privileges.

Education and justice were in evil plight; the one was in the hands of priests, even of Jesuits, and the other consisted of reminiscences of the Code Napoléon, modified by canonical law and the apostolic constitutions. Crime was very rife; in the beginning of 1820 there was one criminal in 220 of the population, and more than 5,000 had been condemned to penal servitude. Brigandage, which the French had not been able to put down, now assumed larger proportions. The brigands of Italy had a political complexion and answered to the *guerilleros* of Spain and the *klephts* of Greece. The division of Italy into small states encouraged their development. It was not possible to go from Rome to Albano or Frascati without an escort. The neighbourhood of Velletri and Terracina was especially dangerous, and the mountain village of Sonnino was reckoned the headquarters of the brigands. When all other means failed a formal treaty was made with them. All the brigands were to give themselves up as prisoners to the Papal States for a year; after that they should be left alone. However, only three carriages full of men and women found their way to Rome: amongst them was one who prided himself on having killed sixty victims. Eventually Sonnino was razed to the ground, not without the opposition of the Pope. About agriculture the less said the better. The Campagna was a desert, full of wild buffaloes, guarded by cowboys with long spears. The population was decimated by fever. Commerce was at a standstill, exaggerated import duties encouraged smuggling, and the harbours of Civita Vecchia and Ancona could not vie with Leghorn. Rome, however, was the capital of art and the resort of foreign painters. Cornelius and Overbeck came from Germany, Thorwaldsen from Denmark, while Canova brought to the Vatican the spoils rescued from Paris. They formed the nucleus of the Vatican collection, of the Museo Chiaramonti, and the Braccio Nuovo. The excavations begun by the French were continued, and the Pincian Hill was laid out as a promenade.

Triumph of Brigandage.

But there was a dark side to the picture. Niebuhr tells us that the Romans "vegetated," that the nobles lived in idleness and the satisfaction of the most degrading lusts, that the masses were sunk in laziness, vacillating between self-indulgence and superstition, surrounded by police spies. Beggars, dishonest shopkeepers, a priest-ridden populace complete the picture. Even the bitter opponents of Napoleon admitted that his fall had been the greatest misfortune for the Holy City. The finances

were run by the banker Torlonia. To receive the Emperor of Austria in 1819 it was necessary to borrow money from the mother and sister of Napoleon, Madame Mère and Pauline Borghese. It was time an equilibrium should at last be established, but only a quarter of the Napoleonic debt was acknowledged. The chief source of income was the demoralising lottery. The taxes were let out to farmers, who made enormous profits. Niebuhr says, "No part of Italy, perhaps no part of Europe, except Turkey, is governed like the States of the Church."

Growth of Secret Societies.

Such a condition naturally formed a hot-bed of secret societies and conspiracies. If free countries have parties, unfree countries have secret associations. They were not confined to the Liberals. The *Concistoriali* and the *Sanfedisti* were ardent supporters of the Church; their object was the annihilation of the infamous Liberals. High officials of the Church supported the *Fratelli*, who were bound by a terrible oath to suffer their right hand to be cut off, their throats to be severed, and their souls to be damned to everlasting hell before they would betray their cause. A species of civil war broke out, in which the dagger was often concealed beneath the crucifix and the rosary.

Birth of the *Carbonari* and *Calderari*.

The great Liberal organisation was that of the *Carbonari*, the "Charcoal-burners," founded, it is said, by Queen Caroline on the occasion of the French invasion of Italy in 1808. They were favoured by Murat, and, after the fall of Napoleon, represented anti-Austrian tendencies. Alison says the society "had comparatively few partisans in the rural districts where ancient influences had retained their ascendancy, but in the towns, among the incorporations, the universities, the scholars, the army and the artists, it had spread almost universally, and it might with truth be said that among the 642,000 persons who, in Italy, were said to be enrolled in its ranks, was to be found nearly all the genius in religion and politics of the land." In the spring of 1817, when the serious illness of the Pope seemed to forbid a change of Government, there was a rising of the Carbonari in Macerata, which was put down by Cardinal Pacca.

In Naples, the original home of the Carbonari, they were opposed by the *Calderari*, the "Kettlers," who hated the "Charcoal-burners" as the kettle hates the charcoal. King Ferdinand IV., who had so long been confined to Sicily, when he came to Naples, promised to forget the past, a policy suggested to him by his ministers Medici and Tommasi, whose moderation caused them to be hailed with the name of "Jacobins." By their influence the Code Napoléon remained unaltered. Murat's officers served in

the army, and hopes were held out of a Constitution. In 1812 a Constitution, on the English model, had been given to Sicily by Lord William Bentinck, which was certainly not well suited to the circumstances of that country. In December, 1816, the Governments of Sicily and Naples were united, and the Constitution ultimately fell to the ground, to the joy of Metternich.

Ferdinand I. of Sicily.

The King was proclaimed as Ferdinand I., King of the Empire of both Sicilies, and the change was an ominous one for the island. Vineyards were grubbed up, arable land was turned to waste, to escape the grinding taxation; the system of irrigation introduced by the Arabs was destroyed; roads were scarcely to be found, and those that did exist were rendered impassable by brigands; the interior of the island was a waste, without wood, water, or ways. The power of the feudal barons increased, and the population were oppressed by poverty, ignorance, and crushing taxes. The *Latifundia*, the secular pest of the peninsula, reigned supreme. The indolent landlord spent his extorted rents in the large towns, while the speculating factor, to whom he had leased the land, sucked the blood out of the people. Things were somewhat better in the confined mountain valleys, and in the narrow strip of country where, in the midst of oranges and lemons, there was a growth of vines, locust-beans, and vegetables. Here the peasant proprietor, or rather *métayer*, could flourish in peace. At the same time the standard of comfort was not high. Father, mother, brothers and sisters all slept in the same room, in company with the pig, the goat, and the mule. These circumstances did not prevent them from giving birth to the most charming of popular songs, and to the melodies which lend their beauty to the *Cavalleria Rusticana*.

The Condition of Naples.

If such was the condition of Sicily, the hopes of Naples were soon undeceived. Those who had been faithful to the monarchy received all the posts. The conscription was restored with slight differences. Political offenders were punished as murderers, and murderers were acquitted, if their politics were right. The infamous Prince of Canosa was made head of the police; a libertine and a drunkard under the shadow of piety, he favoured the sect of the Calderari, and persecuted the "Charcoal-burners." He was dismissed with a rich pension in June, 1816. Other societies raised their heads. Amongst them were the *Determinati*, in the Province of Otranto, led by a bloodthirsty priest, Ciro Annichiarico. He was crushed by the English general, Church, afterwards so prominent in Greece, who stormed Annichiarico's camp on February 27th, 1818, and shot the ringleaders in public.

Those were the days of notable bandits, such as Gaetano Vardarelli, and Fra Diavolo, who lives in opera.

It goes almost without saying that lack of justice, disorder in the finances, economical misery, absence of trade, and degradation of education were rife on every hand. Settembrini describes one of the best schools in the kingdom as a prison for some hundreds of children, who spent the greater part of the day kneeling or sitting, while they were instructed in the Catechism or in Latin. A Concordat was signed on February 16th, 1818, which enhanced the privileges of the Church, the number of bishoprics being increased and richly endowed, and the monasteries being for the most part restored. Colletta says of this measure that in a single day it annihilated the progress of a century.

Influence of the Carbonari.

The first impulse towards a better state of things was given by General William Pepe. He was born at Squillace in Calabria, and with his elder brother Florestan had fought in 1799 for the Parthenopolitan Republic, and afterwards in the Italian legion. He had served Joseph Bonaparte, when the latter was King of Naples, and, after fighting under the French flag in Corfu and Spain, had distinguished himself in the army of Murat. Beginning as a Republican, he had become a partisan of constitutional monarchy, and did not hold aloof from conspiracies for this object. At the close of 1818 he was sent to extinguish brigandage in the districts of Foggia and Avellino. He possessed high military qualities, but had a certain sympathy with the Carbonari. He hoped that the King, when he recovered from his illness, would grant a Constitution, but contented himself with cutting off his pigtail, which at an earlier time would have been regarded as a sign of Jacobinism.

In the spring of 1819 the Emperor Francis and Metternich paid a visit to Naples. They had planned a visit to Avellino to review the militia, and Pepe formed a scheme for arresting them with the help of the Carbonari, a story which would be hard to believe if it did not rest on his own testimony. But the contemplated visit was not paid. Still, the principles of the Carbonari continued to make way amongst the officers and soldiers. Shopkeepers, tradesmen, and advocates all looked with hope to the red, black, and blue tricolour of the Charcoal-burners, and believed that the happiness of their country lay in a Constitution. Only a slight shock was needed to cause an explosion, and that was found in the success of the Spanish Revolution. Many an officer longed to play the part of a Quiroga or a Riego. The town of Nola, which lies between Naples and Avellino, was occupied at

this time by the cavalry regiment called Bourbon. Two lieutenants, named Morelli and Silvati, stimulated by a priest named Menichini, one of the most active Carbonari in the place, determined to mutiny, and to hoist the tricolour. In the night of July 1st–2nd, 1820, about 140 soldiers followed them, together with Menichini and a dozen townsmen. They marched to Avellino, shouting as they marched "For God, the King, and the Constitution." They halted at Mercogliano, not far from Avellino and Morelli, and persuaded de' Concili, who was commanding at Avellino in Pepe's absence, to join them. On July 3rd the Spanish Constitution was proclaimed in Avellino and de' Concili was appointed Commander.

Gen. Pepe Joins the Rebels.

Pepe was then in Naples, and the first idea was to send him to quell the insurrection. But the King did not agree to this, and Carrascosa, an old Muratist, was despatched instead. Pepe, resolving to side with the insurgents, who were collected at Monteforte, took with him two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and marched towards the rebels. The King, frightened, promised to grant a Constitution within eight days, and in the meantime retired from the Government and nominated his son, the Duke of Calabria, Viceroy in his stead. On July 1st the Viceroy proclaimed the Spanish Constitution, with the consent of the King, but reserved the right to make certain modifications. Pepe himself would have preferred the French *Charte* to the Constitution of Cadiz, but he had no choice. He was entrusted with the general command of all Neapolitan troops, and a provisional Junta was appointed. As a test of sincerity, all political offenders were liberated from prison. On July 9th Pepe entered Naples with 20,000 troops, having de' Concili on one hand and Napoletano on the other. At the head of the Nola Carbonari rode the priest Menichini, armed with sword and musket. They surged round the palace, while the Duke of Calabria appeared on the balcony with his family, wearing the tricolour. After the march past, Pepe was graciously received by the Duke and the King, who lay quivering in bed. In the evening the town was illuminated.

Metternich was horrified. Dreading the excesses of a half-civilised people, hot-blooded as Africans, whose last word is the dagger, he prophesied that blood would flow in streams, a prophecy which was not fulfilled, for Pepe prevented excesses. The salt tax was reduced by one half. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Duke of Campochiaro, had represented Murat at the Congress of Vienna, while Zurlo and Ricciardi, Ministers of the Interior and Justice, had occupied the same posts under King Joachim.

The provisional Junta was also of a Liberal complexion. On July 13th the King swore, in the palace chapel, fidelity to the Constitution. Tears flowed from his eyes, and he declared that he swore this time from the depth of his heart. All the soldiers and the militia followed his example.

The King Plays the Traitor.

Pepe's brother Florestan, who was of cautious temperament, had his doubts as to the sincerity of this manifestation, and left the Junta. Dissensions soon began to show themselves, and a mutinous regiment had to be coerced by force. The leaders of the Carbonari and of the Muratists did not agree. Pepe had to hold the balance, but he disagreed with Carrascosa and was driven more and more to the side of the Carbonari. The King played the traitor: he told the French Ambassador that his illness was only a pretence, addressed secret messages to Vienna and St. Petersburg, and sent Metternich a protest against the oath, which he said he had taken with the knife at his throat.

The Sicilian Revolution.

In the meantime a far more terrible revolution broke out in Sicily. The Spanish Constitution was proclaimed in Messina, political prisoners were released, and order was preserved. But things went differently in Palermo when the news of the acceptance of the Constitution arrived on July 14th. On that day, the eve of the national festival of St. Rosalia, a ship arrived from Naples, in which all the passengers and the crew wore the Carbonari tricolour. This was immediately adopted, with the addition of a strip of yellow, and next day an insurrection broke out. General Church ordered the soldiers to barracks, but he was disobeyed, his house being stormed and his furniture burned. On the following morning the people armed themselves with muskets and committed serious excesses. On July 17th there was fighting in the streets, the Viceroy, Roselli, being compelled to fly for his life. A reign of terror ensued. Princes Cattolica and Aci were dragged from their hiding places and barbarously murdered, and the latter's villa was razed to the ground. Not till July 18th was a provisional Government established, with the Prince of Villafranca at its head. These risings were imitated throughout the country. Messina and Caltasinetta refused to obey the orders of Palermo, and the whole island fell a prey to civil strife.

The news of this outbreak caused dismay in Naples; Florestan Pepe was sent with 9,000 men to restore order. He offered reasonable terms, but they were rejected. Nothing was left for him but to attack Palermo on September 26th. Not till October 5th did he come to an agreement with the insurgents on board a British vessel, the venerable Prince of Palermo acting as repre-

sentative of the Sicilian people. It was agreed that Pepe should be put in possession of the fort, that the Neapolitan Constitution should be proclaimed, and that the Prince of Palermo should be President of a new Junta.

Repression of Sicily.

But the Parliament of Naples had met on October 1st. The mainland alone was represented in it, not Sicily. It consisted of seventy-two members, chiefly lawyers, doctors, priests, and officials, and only two nobles. Giuseppe Poerio was a member, as was also Pasquale Borelli. Parties were well assorted; indeed, the members changed their plans every day. The King left Capodimonte to open the House, and solemnly renewed his oath to the Constitution. William Pepe, with great solemnity, resigned the command of the army. The first step was to recall Florestan Pepe and to disown his action, saying that he had exceeded his instructions. Pepe resigned his place to Colletta. The breach between the two Sicilies became worse and worse. The Neapolitan Parliament confiscated the property of the Sicilian barons and gave it to the people, without any compensation; abolished the High Court of Justice in Palermo; made the Sicilians realise that their claims to independence were disregarded, and maintained a large force to garrison Palermo and to hold it in check.

CHAPTER VII

CONGRESS OF TROPPAU

Metternich's Fears.

FERDINAND VII.'s submission to the revolution caused great dismay in Paris, where public opinion had been already excited by the murder of the Duc de Berri and the fall of Decazes. Richelieu, his successor, was in favour of intervention, but this was opposed by Great Britain, Wellington being in this matter in full agreement with Castlereagh. The French Government conceived the project of sending Latour du Pin to Madrid, to urge the King to alter the Constitution so as to bring it into clear harmony with the French *Charte*, but this idea was given up. Alexander of Russia was less courteous. A Russian Note, dated May 2nd, 1820, signed by Nesselrode, was circulated, lamenting that the King had allowed himself to be drawn into revolutionary courses. He referred to the conclusion of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and threatened the interruption of friendly relations between Spain and the allies. This note was not favourably received, either by Great Britain or Austria. Metternich was sufficiently frightened, but he seemed to prefer common action with Prussia. His attitude, however, was altered by the outbreak of the Revolution in Naples. On July 23rd he sent a note to the Courts of Turin, Modena, Lucca, Florence and Rome, saying that, by the Treaty of Vienna, Austria had been appointed guardian of the peace of Italy, and was prepared, if necessary, to employ force.

Metternich, no doubt, feared the spread of the constitutional and national spirit. He said that the Carbonari had no other end in view than the complete unity and independence of Italy, although these objects were at present very far from the domain of practical politics. At the same time dangerous symptoms of discontent were evident in Rome. Niebuhr writes of a union between certain priests and Jacobins, based upon a common hatred of Consalvi, supported by ambitious cardinals, who dreamed of their college being changed into a senate, which might exercise a firm control over a lower house. There were signs of revolutionary excitement in Lombardy and Piedmont and Clubs of Independence were formed in Turin, Alessandria and Coni.

Metternich would willingly have intervened himself. He said at a later period to the Duke of Modena, " If we could have marched 20,000 men straight to the Po, we could have crushed the rebellion in Naples at once, and the world would have blessed us." But this was not done. Fossombroni was entirely opposed to an occupation of Tuscany, and the Roman Chancery did not welcome an Austrian intervention.

Louis XVIII. on Italy.

Prussia and Great Britain did not object to armed intervention by Austria, but it was different with regard to France and Russia. It would have been tempting for France to anticipate Austria and to place herself at the head of the revolutionary movement in Italy, had she not feared the stirring up of a revolution in both countries. Following another direction, Louis XVIII. issued a note saying that, as head of the Bourbon family, and as the prince who was the first to give to his own subjects the liberties which all others seemed to desire, he felt it his duty to call the attention of his allies to the serious condition of Italy. He was of opinion that there ought to be an intervention in Naples, and he approved of Austria's arming, but he felt that these steps should be made legitimate by a common declaration of all five Powers. Richelieu wrote to Capodistrias on August 10th that it was necessary to make it plain to the people that it was not a question of making war against any particular principles, but of suppressing a military revolt, whose monstrous tyranny would throw Europe back into barbarism.

The Gathering at Troppau.

The Russian Emperor was only too glad to summon a congress of princes and ministers, who could speak in the name of Europe; but Metternich did not desire to have his hands tied. He would have preferred to hold the meetings at Vienna; but Troppau, in Austrian Silesia, was selected as being easily reached from Warsaw and Berlin. The British Ministry, occupied by the trial of Queen Caroline, refused to be bound by any conclusions agreed to at Troppau. The Emperor of Austria arrived at Troppau on October 18th, 1820, and the Tsar joined him two days afterwards; but the King of Prussia could not arrive till November 7th, though he sent the Crown Prince, his son. Austria was represented by Metternich and Gentz, Russia by Nesselrode and Capodistrias, Prussia by Hardenberg and Bernstorff, France by Count Caraman, and Great Britain by Sir Charles Stewart.

It was the first practical application of the principles of the Holy Alliance. The British Government took no part in the deliberations, but did not firmly oppose the measures decided

upon. The danger of an Austrian intervention caused great excitement at Naples. Campochiaro, the Minister, informed Consalvi that if he allowed the Austrians to pass through his territory, the Neapolitans would reply by invading the Papal States. There was some thought of altering the Constitution to bring it more into harmony with the *Charte*; but the majority, hardened by the interference of Austria and by the enthusiasm of the Carbonari, resolved not to lay hands upon the "holy" document.

"The Child of the Miracle."

Just at this time the French dynasty was strengthened by the birth of the Duc de Bordeaux on September 29th, 1820, "the child of the miracle." There was also a conspiracy in favour of the tricolour flag. Both events strengthened the hands of Metternich. His programme consisted of a march of Austrian troops into Naples. This was opposed by Laferronnays, who wrote to Paris, "In the eyes of Metternich I am certainly regarded as a Carbonaro." The Russian Note, dated November 2nd, on the other hand, aimed at suppressing all revolutionary movements which might disturb the peace of Europe. At the same time, Capodistrias expressed some degree of favour for a Constitutional Government, and desired to gratify national wishes. Metternich knew of no national desires, only those of Carbonari and Muratists; the Powers must not become the instrument of either party. They must say "the present condition of things must cease and be replaced by one in which the free will of the King and his wisdom must be fully acknowledged." Capodistrias did not contest the points further.

The Powers' Treatment for Revolution.

An agreement between Austria, Prussia and Russia was at length brought about on November 7th, when the Russian Note of November 2nd was accepted in spirit. Great Britain, however, stood aloof and Stewart protested, and the attitude of France was doubtful. Metternich having proposed to invite the King of Naples to attend the Congress, the Tsar agreed, and a provisional protocol was signed between the three Powers on November 19th. It laid down some political principles of Russian origin. The first of these ran, "When in States which belong to the system of European Alliances a change of government is brought about by an insurrection, and other States are threatened, this State is excluded from the Alliance until it can give security for order and stability." It was also the duty of the other allies to bring the offender back, first by remonstrance, and failing that by force, so that an Austrian occupation of Naples was legitimate. They also agreed to invite Ferdinand to meet them at Laibach, which was

more convenient than Troppau. France refused to agree to this protocol, and Great Britain protested.

The King "Allowed" to Leave Naples.

The invitation to the King reached Naples on December 6th, and caused great confusion. The King knew that he must have the consent of Parliament to his departure, and he sought the assistance of A'Court and Fontenay, the British and French Ministers. The Crown Prince, who was appointed Viceroy, said that the King would never be allowed by Parliament to travel unless he gave an amnesty and promised to uphold the Constitution—conditions to which the King agreed.

A change of Government now took place, with the Duke of Gallo as Prime Minister. The new Cabinet expressed its entire confidence in the King's intentions and gave leave for his departure, naming his son as Viceroy. The King made a solemn agreement, before the deliberative body and a deputation of Parliament, not to be false to the Constitution, and left Naples on a British vessel on December 13th. When he got out of sight of land, he said, "Here I am in Paradise." At Leghorn he entered a Church of Pilgrimage to give thanks for his escape, writing to Louis XVIII. that he had only yielded because he feared the dagger of the assassin. In reality he had never been in danger.

From Troppau to Laibach.

Troppau was shut up in snow and frost, and the monarchs were glad to leave it, spending two days in Vienna on their way to Laibach. Metternich claimed to have scored 85 per cent. over the Constitution-loving Capodistrias, and Alexander cooled towards him. Nevertheless, Metternich declared for the principle of the close union of monarchs, and the suppression of the freedom of the Press, that scourge of society, which had been unknown till the second half of the seventeenth century. He detected great dangers in the rise of the middle class and of the cultured classes who assisted it. If he did not altogether convert Alexander, he at least succeeded in weakening the tie between him and France. The Tsar said to Laferronnays, "Every Government is guilty or blind that does not co-operate to get rid of the godless sect who desire to upset every throne and to destroy the order of society." Pozzo di Borgo said to Caraman, "Do you wish us to declare war against Austria in order to have the pleasure of giving a Constitution to Naples?"

The Congress of Laibach met in January, 1821, in a better climate than the last. Count Ruffo-Scilla was present, representing the King of Naples, an enemy of the Constitution and a tool in the hands of Metternich. All the Italian Governments were invited to send representatives, and all accepted, with the excep-

tion of Lucca and Parma. Blacas represented France. Ferdinand came late, but surpassed himself in denouncing everything to which he had sworn allegiance. Two letters were prepared for the King to sign—one public, in which he communicated to his son the decision of the Powers; the other private, in which he announced the approach of an Austrian army as a guarantee. Corresponding instructions were sent to the Ambassadors of Austria, Prussia and Russia in Naples. In the Conference Metternich had his way, but not without difficulty. Capodistrias would not consent and was, to use Metternich's expression, "like the devil in holy water." The Tsar was completely overcome by Metternich's tea-parties, and became reconciled to Ferdinand's breaking his word. He talked about sending Russian and Prussian troops in the wake of the Austrians.

Great Britain Stands Aloof.

Although the French Plenipotentiaries did not sympathise with these views, they did not wish to break up the concert of Europe, and agreed to sign the common Note. The fact was that the Ultras had, in November, 1820, obtained a great victory in France, and they consequently favoured the programme of the Powers, and regarded intervention as a sacred duty. Great Britain took a different line. However much the Tory Ministers might desire the success of Metternich, parliamentary considerations did not permit them to lend him their open support. Of the Italian governments, Sardinia, Tuscany and Modena were in favour of an Austrian intervention; but Consalvi, on behalf of the Pope, was far more cautious. Gallo, the constitutional Prime Minister of Naples, behaved in an extraordinary fashion. He remained in Görz till January 30th, when everything was completed. He was then admitted to the sittings, where he heard the Government of which he was head denounced as an abominable government, the work of delusion and crime. Ruffo watched the scene through a hole in the door. Gallo made no objection; he agreed not only to take the letters to Naples, but to do what he could to render them effective.

Metternich's "Principles."

Sixty thousand Austrian troops, under the command of General Frimont, set out to cross the Po. The occupation of Naples was limited to three years. With the assistance of Gentz, Metternich drew up "Principles of a fundamental law for the kingdom of the two Sicilies," the document being secretly communicated to Russia and Prussia. It divided the government of the two countries and gave them a common Council of State, but separate Consultas in Naples and Palermo, chosen by the King. A certain amount of local government was conceded, much to

the King's disgust. This Constitution was finally accepted on February 22nd, 1821. Metternich had thus gained a complete victory.

Ferdinand's Return.

Now arose the question whether a similar intervention should be undertaken in Spain, but this was too much for the allies. Pasquier wrote to Madrid: "We consider that every intervention of foreign Powers, so far from setting the King free from his terrible position, will only have the effect of driving the revolutionary party to the worst excesses. Only if Spain attacks us will we defend ourselves." The conference broke up on February 26th without mentioning Spain. A new conference was to be called to decide the direction of the Neapolitan occupation, the two Emperors remaining in Laibach to await the result. Ferdinand departed slowly, accompanied by Blacas and three representatives of the great Powers. They intended to stay in Florence by the way. A proclamation called upon all his subjects to receive the army of his exalted allies with open arms, as it was only intended to protect the true friends of God and the Fatherland.

Turmoil in Naples.

This was not the opinion at Naples. The Regent promised to abide by his oath, but said that he feared he should be looked upon in Europe as a rebel. In the meantime Gallo arrived and brought the news from Laibach. The Regent said that he would not separate himself from his people. Parliament met on February 13th. The mob rose and murdered Giampietri, who was said to have rejoiced over the coming of the Austrians, and war seemed imminent. Rome was afraid of an invasion of the Neapolitan Carbonari, and Niebuhr placed the plate, the archives, and the pictures of the German Embassy in safe custody. The feeling in Naples became more and more bellicose, and the Regent asked Ludwig XVIII. to mediate. But the Neapolitan army was very badly prepared. Of the whole force, a third, 12,000 men, was in Sicily; arms, provisions, and money were deficient, and there were dissensions among the leaders. Still they made ready for defence. An army corps, consisting of 10,000 regulars and 20,000 militia, under William Pepe, was to defend the north; another of 18,000 regulars and 22,000 militia, under Carrascosa, the south; and other defensive posts were occupied.

The Austrian Advance.

In the meantime the Austrian army marched through Tuscany and the States of the Church, and approached the Abruzzi. Pepe attacked the Austrians at Rieti on March 7th, 1821, but was defeated and his army dissolved, he himself seeking refuge on a Spanish ship. The combat of Rieti was the beginning and end

of the campaign. The Austrians could hardly believe their success and advanced and occupied Aquila. Carrascosa's army lost all discipline, and Capua was surrendered on March 20th. Fontenay wrote from Naples, "In Naples there is no army and no government; personal hatred is roused, all parties complain of treachery." The Austrians entered Naples, decorated with olive branches, on March 24th, and the funds rose 8 per cent. At this critical moment arrived the news of a revolution in Piedmont. The Emperors at Laibach heard of the victory of Rieti on March 13th, and of the revolution on March 14th.

Revolution in Piedmont.

The foremost mover of the revolution was Santorre di Santa Rosa, an intimate friend of Charles Albert of Carignan. He was of an enthusiastic nature, devoted to his country, and a friend of Cesare Balbo, the son of Prospero Balbo, the Liberal minister. He was in communication with French ministers, his aim being to give Italy a Constitution and unite it against the enemy. The hopes of the Liberals turned to the Prince of Carignan. On the evening of March 6th, 1821, Prince Charles Albert of Carignan received Santa Rosa, Colonel St. Marsan, Major Collegno, and Captain Count Lisio in strict secrecy. They told him that everything was ready for fighting for freedom and against Austria, and they begged him to place himself at their head. They knew that Victor Emmanuel was on the point of departure for Moncalieri, and they proposed that the garrison should rise in his absence. The Prince, a young man of twenty-two, dazzled by these propositions, gave his consent. But on the following day he changed his mind and withdrew his consent.

However, on March 10th, a rising took place in Alessandria. The citadel was seized, the Italian tricolour floated from its walls, and a provisional Giunta was formed, which took for its motto, "Long live the King! Long live the Spanish Constitution! Long live Italy!" The reformers demanded a King of Italy, Italian federation, and Italian independence. This gave hope to the other conspirators in Turin, and Santa Rosa hastened to Alessandria. The Giunta proclaimed, "The nation is in a state of war against Austria; the Italian army will be placed on a war footing." Victor Emmanuel returned to Turin in the evening of March 10th. He was in favour of moderate measures and inclined to grant a Constitution, but could not bear to draw upon himself the wrath of the Eastern Powers. But disturbances broke out in Turin, and on March 12th the citadel hoisted the Italian tricolour. The people shouted, "Long live the Constitution!" The King now abdicated in favour of his brother Charles Felix,

the Duke of Genevois, who was staying in Modena, where he had greeted his father-in-law, King Ferdinand, on his way back to his dominions. Till his return the Regency was entrusted to the Prince of Carignan.

The Regent's Embarrassment.

On March 13th the King and his family set out for Nice. Carignan was in great difficulty, for none of the previous Ministers would serve under him. Still, he was forced by popular and military pressure to proclaim the Spanish Constitution on March 21st, 1821, which was regarded as the panacea for all evils, provided Charles Felix would consent to it. A provisional Giunta was also formed. The Regent was, in fact, in the greatest possible embarrassment, having really no idea of declaring war against Austria, and hoping, indeed, to recall the troops to their allegiance. But Binder, the Austrian Ambassador, thought it safe to leave Turin, and reached Milan by way of Geneva. Of course, the Liberals were discontented with Charles Albert. They expected thanks instead of amnesty, and disliked his proscription of the Italian tricolour. The patriots sent from Milan—the young Marchese Pallavicino and his friend, Gaetano de Castiglia—were not well received, either by the General della Torre at Novara or at Turin. Charles Albert gave them an audience, but begged them to place their hopes rather on the future than on the present.

The Tsar's Fury.

Charles Felix, the new King, took a strong line, and denounced the Constitution. He summoned Carignan to Novara, but the young man preferred to resign, and withdraw to Tuscany, reaching Florence on April 3rd. Such was the news which was brought to Laibach by successive posts. The Tsar was full of fury, and eager to set 90,000 Russian soldiers on the march. He cried, "Let us save Europe: it is the will of God." Metternich suspected that France had a hand in the unrest. "France," he said, "stands at the head of all revolutionary movements in Europe. It is hard to say which is the worse—the Government or the Jacobins." There were risings in Venice, and suspected Liberals, like Maroncelli, Laderchi, Romagnosi and Silvio Pellico, were cast into prison. Straffoldo wrote to Metternich from Milan, "We have no party for us, and are in a bad way till the troops arrive."

But the abdication of Carignan gave hope to Laibach. Many of the Liberals, however, escaped to Switzerland, and Santa Rosa did not lose courage. He said, on March 23rd, in an order of the day, "Place your banners on the Po and the Ticino, for Lombardy awaits you." He declared that the King was not his own master, being in the hands of the Austrians. Count Mocenigo, the Ambassador of Russia in Turin, tried to mediate. He proposed submis-

sion to the King, with some hope of an amnesty and some kind of Constitution, and the Giunta was ready to accept this. But neither Santa Rosa nor Charles Felix would give consent, and the attempt at mediation failed.

Austria Occupies Piedmont.

Austrian success in Piedmont was complete. Bubna sent to his Emperor the keys of the citadel of Alessandria, and Austrian garrisons occupied Casale and Tortona. There was no occasion for Russian interference, the allies agreeing to a temporary occupation of Piedmont by Austria. By treaty signed between the Eastern Powers and Sardinia on July 24th, 1821, the army of occupation was limited to 12,000 men. Metternich failing to induce Victor Emmanuel to withdraw his abdication, Charles Felix accepted the crown, but deferred his visit to his dominions until his country had been purged by the punishment of the Liberals. He committed this charge to Count Revel, who performed his office with moderation, only two officers being executed. The Universities of Turin and Genoa were closed for a year, and the police superintendence was then sharpened, while no reforms were inaugurated.

Metternich had his spies in the Sardinian capital. Charles Albert remained in Florence with the reputation of a traitor, but Charles Felix did not fare much better in the eyes of the other party, because he refused to alter the Sardinian succession. The utmost he would admit was the recognition of the child Victor Emmanuel, born March 14th, 1820, as King, with the Duke of Modena as Regent. Influences were used to prevent Carignan from throwing himself into the Liberal gulf. He became converted, and tried to expiate lust by penitence, but Charles Felix still regarded him as a concealed Carbonaro.

Reaction in Naples.

The reaction in Naples was carried out in much rougher fashion. A provisional Government was established to take matters in hand till the King should return. All decrees issued between July 5th, 1820, and March 23rd, 1821, were declared null and void. Anyone found in possession of arms was shot; the most distinguished officers, members of Parliament, and officials were imprisoned; William Pepe and General Rossaroll were condemned to death; a Carbonaro prisoner, handcuffed, was placed on a donkey, and led through the streets of Naples, with the emblems of his society, and was scourged as he went. Even Metternich counselled moderation. The King returned to his capital on May 15th, 1821, and spent his time in visiting the churches, while he imprisoned, scourged, and executed his subjects. An Act of Amnesty was published, which was a dead letter.

The best spirits in the country left it. It has been estimated that half the books in the Neapolitan libraries were destroyed as dangerous, and the introduction of suspected books was forbidden. Education was placed under the strictest surveillance. No one was safe against the emissaries of Canosa, who used accusations of high treason to gratify private hatred and vengeance. Metternich and the ambassadors could do little to check their outrages. Happily the Austrian soldiers of occupation introduced a better state of things, as they took the place of the Neapolitan army. The conditions of their sojourn were eventually regulated by the Treaty of October 18th, 1821, between Ferdinand and the Eastern Powers.

Austria's Prominence.

Before the two Emperors separated at Laibach they issued a declaration, dated May 12th, 1821, drawn up by Pozzo di Borgo. In this instrument they claimed to have saved Europe from a conspiracy of general overthrow, and praised their own firmness and unselfishness. They said that "their forces, whose only object was to fight against and to arrest the revolution, came to subjected peoples to assist their freedom rather than thwart their independence." In these declarations Russia, Austria and Prussia separated themselves entirely from their former allies, Great Britain and France, and formed a group by themselves. In this group Austria took the most prominent place. The black-and-yellow banner with the double eagle waved from one end of the peninsula to the other. Even the Papal Government received a garrison of 2,000 into the citadel of Ancona. But, as the material authority of Austria increased, so her moral authority declined. The best children of Italy regarded the Emperor of Austria not as a benevolent protector, but as a cruel jailer. Neapolitan patriots, such as Poerio, Borelli Colletta, Arcovito, were carried off to Graz, Brunn, and Prague, and Silvio Pellico and Maroncelli languished in the dungeons of Spielberg. Even Metternich scarcely realised what a treasure of hatred he was laying up for himself in Italian hearts, and claimed to have converted the Tsar from black to white. When he returned to Vienna he received the office of Chancellor on May 25th, 1821.

Metternich's Position in Europe.

From this time he was the true ruler of Austria, and to a large extent of Europe, till his fall in 1848. Devoted to the conduct of foreign policy, he did not desire that his plans should be obstructed by any movements of internal reform. He was good-looking and had the manners of a finished courtier, combined with a personal charm which fascinated those with whom he was brought into contact. But he was essentially an opportunist,

endowed with a frivolous and superficial nature. He had no settled scheme of action, no strong sense of duty, no fixed moral principles, no fund of political knowledge, no statesmanlike instinct. His rule of conduct was to set himself against everything which tended either to exalt or improve the condition of humanity. He was a spirit who always said "No," or who acted it without saying it. He had the dawdling way, the indifference, the shallowness, the immorality, and the hardheartedness of a Talleyrand, but he lacked those high qualities of courage, of insight, of sanity in the conduct of great affairs which place his French rival almost in the front rank of statesmen. Napoleon not only controlled his age, formed a new France, and went far to form a new Europe, but by his very superfluity of intellect he created an opposition to himself which might suffice to clothe a characterless spirit with the appearance of reality. Metternich found this shell and occupied it. It was a sufficient programme for him to undo the work of the great Emperor and to check every impulse which might again awaken into activity.

Death of Napoleon.

At this time the man died, the guiding principles of whose life were most opposed to the measures which have been described, and the hatred of whose career had brought about the fatal reaction of obscurantist tyranny. He who would estimate the work of Napoleon at its true value must consider, first, the ruin of the French Revolution, on which foundation he was able to build the firm fabric of a well-ordered State; and, secondly, the reaction which followed his fall, when the misery of Europe was caused by the effort to undo what he had done and to act on the principles which he had laboured to overthrow. Still, the news of his death caused but little excitement. Manzoni wrote his famous ode, "The Fifth of May." The tutor of the Duke of Reichstadt wondered that his pupil should shed such bitter tears over the memory of a father whom he had never known, and many hardened veterans joined their tears to those of "the Eaglet." The Regent, on being told that his "greatest enemy" was dead, imagined they meant his wife, and exclaimed, "When did she die?" The time for a revulsion of feeling had not yet come. But to-day there is no more fascinating personality than Napoleon, no more difficult riddle than his character.

The flame of revolution was not quenched by the pedants of Laibach, any more than they had extinguished the reputation of the great Emperor. Far in the East, in the ancient home of freedom, it burst again into life, and we must now relate the story of the Independence of Greece.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISING OF GREECE

MARKED impulse to the revolt of Greece against the Turkish Government was given by the foundation of a society called *Hetairia tôn philicôn*—"The League of Friends." The Congress of Vienna had done nothing to improve the rule of the Rayahs, and this new society was founded by a merchant named Shuphas, from Arta, a freemason named Xanthos, from Patmos, and a Bulgarian named Tzakaloff. Their object was to unite all Greek Christians resident in Turkey, in the hope of driving the Crescent from Constantinople and erecting the Cross in its place. They believed that they would have the support of Russia, but in this they were disappointed. Their hope of gaining over Servia was shattered by the murder of Kara Georg, and his successor, Milos, was too cautious to encourage them. Still, they continued to make proselytes in Roumelia, the Morea, and the islands on both sides of Greece. They appointed committees, under the title of *Ephories*, and established a Directory of eight persons at their head. Prince Alexander Ypsilanti joined them in Southern Russia, and Gregory Sutsos in Wallachia. **"The League of Friends."**

In need of a supreme protector, they appointed Capodistrias, the confidential adviser of the Emperor Alexander, who was a native of Corfu. But Capodistrias, an experienced statesman, was too cautious to be led away, and he rejected the overtures of Xanthos, the emissary of the Hetairia. They now turned to Alexander Ypsilanti, whose father had been Hospodar of Wallachia and Moldavia in the time of Napoleon. He was a special favourite of the Tsar, and a good and brave soldier, but had neither the knowledge nor the will to play the part of a statesman. His brother had already joined the Hetairia, and when asked by Xanthos, he consented to put himself at their head. There is little doubt that he was encouraged by Capodistrias to expect the support of Russia.

Ypsilanti, having been appointed "General Ephor" by the Hetairia, left Kiev in July, 1820, and went to Odessa. It was necessary to decide when the first rising should take place, whether in the Morea or in the Danubian Provinces. Ypsilanti was in

favour of the latter course, as the flame of insurrection might more easily spread to Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Montenegro. But in a council of war, held in the churchyard of Ismail, on October 13th, 1820, it was decided to begin the struggle in the Morea. Ypsilanti was to sail thither from Trieste in a Grecian ship. But for some reason he gave up this scheme and determined to raise the banner in the Provinces.

Ali Pasha of Janina.

Mahmoud II., the reigning Sultan, was a powerful ruler, and had determined to reduce to subjection his independent vassals, Mehemet Ali of Egypt and Ali Pasha of Janina, so graphically described in the verse and prose of Byron. Ali had raised himself to this position from being a wandering brigand, and now ruled with an iron hand Epirus, Thessaly, and part of Macedonia and Central Greece. He was in the habit of exhibiting in his palace court the heads of the enemies he had executed. His rise was not favourable to the independence of Greece, for he hated the Klephts, and especially the Suliotes. During the Napoleonic War he hoped to gain possession of Santa Maura and Corfu, and, in 1819, acquired Parga, which was deserted by the British. Yet his army was largely composed of Greek soldiers, and Janina was a centre of Greek education and Greek commerce. At this time a quarrel broke out between the Sultan and himself. Ali was deserted by his troops and his children, but received some assistance from the Greeks and the Suliotes.

Ypsilanti's Failure.

In the spring of 1821, Ypsilanti, with his brothers, Nicholas and George, crossed the frozen Pruth, and entered Jassy in triumph on March 7th. He issued a proclamation calling upon all Greeks to assemble between Marathon and Thermopylæ to fight against the degenerate descendants of the Persians, promising the help, not only of the Suliotes and the whole of Epirus, but also of the Servians. He concluded with the words, "Arise, my friends, and you will see a great Power defending our rights." This allusion to Russia was unauthorised. The proclamation fell flat, the inhabitants of the Provinces having no enthusiasm for the Grecian cause. They had been badly treated by Greek officials, and looked upon Ypsilanti as a stranger, a Byzantine who wished to raise the resources of the Provinces to strike a blow against Turkey. Ypsilanti had no great qualities as a military leader. Instead of securing Braila, he marched slowly with his small army towards Bucharest, which he entered on April 9th. He was well received there until he asked for a Constitution. From Jassy he addressed a letter to the Tsar, who was at Laibach, begging him to assist in the liberation of Greece. But the atmosphere of Laibach was not

favourable to revolution. Capodistrias was ordered to reply that rebellion and civil war, agitations and secret plots would never secure the freedom of a country or a people, and Ypsilanti was ordered to return to Russia.

Capture and Death of Ypsilanti.

Now the Turkish army began to march into Moldavia. On May 13th the Pasha of Braila captured the trenches in front of Galacz, which were defended by a small body of Greeks under Athanasios. On May 27th he took Bucharest, and on June 19th Ypsilanti was defeated by the Turks at Dragatschan and, after a somewhat undignified flight, taken prisoner by the Austrians. It is said that Capodistrias was of opinion that he ought to be tried by court-martial and shot. He was, however, imprisoned in an unhealthy cell at Munkacz, until in 1823 the entreaties of his mother secured him more tolerable confinement in Theriesienstadt. He was released at the entreaty of the Tsar Nicholas in 1827, but died in Vienna in the following year. The cause for which he perished was victorious, but he left a name glorified in poetry rather than in history. His followers were defeated, and the rising in the Principalities came to an end; the inhabitants were left to the vengeance of the Turks. The guilty and the guiltless, the stranger and the native, were alike robbed and murdered. The Pasha of Braila ordered that even women with child should not be spared, that they might not bring little rebels into the world.

Revolt in the Morea.

Simultaneously with the unfortunate enterprise of Ypsilanti came a rising in the Morea, a country formed by Nature for guerilla warfare. Yet the attempt was a hazardous one. The Greek population of the Morea in 1820 was 458,000, of whom 50,000 were Mussulmans, in possession of four-fifths of the cultivated soil. The whole of the Greeks in the Turkish Empire did not exceed 3,000,000, who were, for the most part, thinly scattered and mixed up with other nationalities. It was impossible they should succeed without extraneous help. The Pasha of the Morea was named Churchit, and had succeeded Ali Pasha. The soul of the rising had its place in the Greek clergy, but they were reluctant to begin a hopeless struggle, and, at a meeting held in February, 1821, in the monastery of Vostitza, decided to postpone the movement until they could be sure of foreign help.

Just at this time Churchit was removed in order to take the field against Ali, the rebellious Pasha of Janina. His successor summoned the heads of the Greek clergy to a meeting at Tripolitza, with the view of arresting them and keeping them as

hostages. The most influential saw through the device and refused to attend. This imprudent action of the Pasha hastened insurrection. A Suliote attacked some Turkish troops at the end of March. Zaimis, Primate of Kalavryta, gave the signal in his district at the beginning of April. Petros Mavromichaelis, known generally as Petrobey, the Lord of Mainotes, led his followers from the mountains of Messenia. He joined Kolokotronis, the famous Klepht leader, and together they stormed Kalamata, the capital of Messenia, on April 4th. On the same day there was a rising in Patras, which was taken by the insurgents on April 6th. This revolt, which soon spread over the whole of the Morea, had a terrible character. It aimed at the entire destruction of the Mohammedan population and the seizure of their property. The chorus of a popular song said, " Away with the Turks from the Morea, away with them from the whole world ! " The Turks fled for refuge either to Tripolitza or to the fortified places on the coast. Nevertheless, they had the advantage of discipline. The first terror over, they recovered themselves and recaptured Tripolitza and Patras. Churchit sent from the camp before Janina some thousands of seasoned Albanians, under Mustapha Bey, to quell the rebellion. Mustapha, finding Patras already recovered, relieved Acrocorinthus and Nauplia, marched from Argos to Arcadia, and entered Tripolitza on May 12th.

Greece's National Hero.

But Kolokotronis did not lose courage. He became the national hero of Greece, with his mingled character of savagery and cunning, of energy and eloquence, of ostentation and simplicity. He was a huge, sinewy man, with a neck like a bull's, fiery eyes, wearing a great moustache under his eagle nose, a gleaming helmet, a red fustanella, pistols and dagger in his girdle, now cursing, now joking, the very ideal of a pirate king. He practised all the arts of guerilla warfare, and on May 24th won the Battle of Valtetsi. Mustapha determined to storm this place with his Albanians, but met with unexpected resistance from the Mainotes. Kolokotronis attacked him in the flank, and, on the following day, Mustapha was forced to retire behind the walls of Tripolitza. A mound was made of 400 decapitated Moslem heads. This success encouraged similar bands of Greeks to similar triumphs, and Tripolitza was in danger.

Rising in the Islands.

Then the islands began to rise. First came the Albanian islands of Psara, Hydra and Spezzia. Spezzia furnished a fleet of fifty-two vessels, supplied by rich families, which blockaded the Peloponnesus and took two Turkish men-of-war. On Easter Monday a Spezziote vessel sailed into the harbour of Psara, bear-

ing the standard of freedom, a dark blue flag with the Cross above the Crescent, and summoned it to independence. Hydra was not long behind. The example of these islands was followed by Samos, by the majority of the Sporades, and by the whole group of the Cyclades, Roman Catholics excepted. In Crete the Christians rose against their Turkish lords, and the Sphakiotes broke out of their mountain-nests. Chios was more reluctant. It was an earthly paradise, served as pin-money to a Turkish princess, was favoured before all others, and enjoyed a considerable measure of self-government. The inhabitants, contented and sluggish, had no wish to exchange the joys of security for the perils of rebellion. The peasants were satisfied with their wine and fruit gardens, and the self-governing villages were engaged in producing mastic for the Sultan's harem. The towns, flourishing in commerce, desired only to be let alone. But the wealth of Chios attracted the cupidity of the insurgent fleet. The call to independence met with no response, and the fleet sailed home again. Soon afterwards it gained a signal success by burning a Turkish ship at Eresos, in Lesbos, on June 8th. The result was that the Turkish fleet returned to the Dardanelles, and the Greeks considered themselves to be masters of the sea.

Death of Diakos.

In Eastern Hellas, on the slopes of Parnassus, the Klepht, Panurias, raised the standard of rebellion and compelled Salona to capitulate. On April 25th the youthful Diakos, with his Palikars, captured the castle of Livadia, sent his troops to Thebes and Talanti, and roused the Greeks as far as the waters of the Spercheios. Diakos, driven back by the soldiers despatched by Churchit, found himself at last, with fifty followers, in the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ, now altered in character from its ancient condition by the floodings of the Spercheios. Diakos fought with a heroism worthy of ancient times. When nearly all had fallen, he was dragged, streaming with blood, before the Turkish general, and was offered pardon if he would change his religion. He preferred death by impalement, and suffered this torture with firmness on May 6th.

Odysseus of Ithaca.

His death was avenged by Odysseus of Ithaca, who had been in the service of Ali Pasha at Janina, but had returned to his island when the storm broke on his master disguised as a trader. He heard of the fate of Diakos in Salona. He determined to attack the Turks, although they offered him the command in Eastern Greece if he would join them. They raised the siege of Salona; but, marching eastwards through the valley of the Cephissus, conquered Livadia on July 8th, and tried to reduce

Eubœa and Attica. They succeeded in relieving the Acropolis of Athens, which was blockaded by insurgents.

Turkish Methods in Greece.

During the spring the west had remained quiet, but Hydriote and Spezziote ships had carried the insurrection to Mesolonghi and Anatoliko. On June 21st the capture of Brachori, the capital of Aetolia and Acarnania, kindled revolt. Thessaly also had begun to arm, as well as Chalchidice, in the south of Macedonia, where the Klephts and the monks of Mount Athos united against the bloodthirsty Bey of Saloniki. These efforts were crushed by the failure of Ypsilanti.

The Turks met this rebellion in their usual fashion. They imprisoned and executed prominent Greeks in Constantinople, and proclaimed a religious war. Janizaries attacked the Giaours in the villages on the Bosphorus, and rape and ruin raged in Buyukdere under the eyes of foreign ambassadors. On April 22nd the Greek Patriarch was hanged at the door of his own cathedral, and other Greek Metropolitans suffered the same fate. The Christian population of Asia Minor was murdered or sold into slavery. In Smyrna the foreign consuls could not save the Christian Greeks from destruction. Similar excesses were rife in Cyprus, Cos and Rhodes.

Russia's Efforts on Behalf of Greece.

Strogonov, the Russian Ambassador, protested against the enormities, but gained no hearing. Indeed, the Russians found themselves taunted with such insults that on June 5th their ambassador broke off his relations with the Divan and sent a complaint to St. Petersburg. The Tsar, no longer under the immediate influence of Metternich, felt a deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Christians, and attended in person the funeral of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Frau von Krüdener, the soul of the Holy Alliance, persuaded him that he was the instrument destined by Providence to achieve the victory of the Cross over the Crescent. Her efforts were supported by Capodistrias. Russia declared that the Greek cause was the cause of Europe, and that Turkey had forfeited her rights to a common existence with the Christian Powers. The Tsar demanded, by an ultimatum, dated June 28th, the restoration of Christian churches, security for the performance of Christian worship, and for a peaceful future. The refusal of the Porte would be regarded as an open defiance of the Christian world. Russia would feel herself bound to defend her brother Christians, in the name of their common Christianity, and the Russian Ambassador would be ordered to leave Constantinople immediately.

This note served as an ultimatum against Turkey and as a

manifesto to the rest of Europe; but it did not meet with a very warm response. Metternich regarded the matter with his usual cynicism, viewing the Hetairists and the Carbonari as men of the same kidney, hot-headed disturbers of the peace of the world. That three or four hundred thousand persons, beyond the frontiers of Austria, should be hanged, strangled, and impaled was a matter of no importance to Austria. "The Turks cut up the Greeks, the Greeks chop the Turks' heads off—that is the only news we find in the papers." The views of Metternich were shared by the British Ministry, and especially by Lord Strangford, the British Ambassador. He was opposed to all success of the Greek patriots, and regretted that Metternich could not keep a tighter hold on the Ionian Islands. These islands, in fact, did their best to support the insurrection. The brothers Metaxas, friends of Kolokotronis, landed in the Morea, disguised in British uniforms, and called their troops the Army of the Ionian Islands. Great Britain was afraid lest Russia might obtain Constantinople. Castlereagh, now Lord Londonderry, supported to the best of his power the policy of Metternich.

Greece Abandoned by the Powers.

Strogonov presented his ultimatum on July 18th, and received the answer that the Sultan would rather be buried under the ruins of his seraglio than be dependent on the favour of Russia. He accordingly demanded his passport and left for Odessa on August 10th. Metternich was in despair. The Emperor Francis expressed his agreement with Metternich. "The evil we have to fight lies rather in Europe than in Turkey. If the unity of the other Powers is disturbed the insurrection will spread. You have only to look at the people who are enthusiastic for so-called Christian interests to have no doubt as to their real designs. In Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, there are people who believe in no God, and respect neither His laws nor those of man. In the solidarity of the Courts lies the best force of resistance against the evil which threatens us." The Tsar began to waver, and war with the Porte did not immediately follow the recall of Strogonov. In France, Richelieu was reluctant to take a strong line, and left the crusade against the Crescent to the favour of the Ultras. In Prussia, Ancillon had at first favoured the insurrection of Greece, but he was opposed by Bernstorff, who, under the influence of Metternich, took the other side. It was obvious that no serious intervention against the Porte could be expected from Russia.

In October, 1821, Metternich met George IV. and Londonderry at Hanover. The King overwhelmed him with flatteries,

declared his adhesion to the Austrian system, and used strong language against the Tsar and Capodistrias. Metternich and Londonderry agreed upon common action at Constantinople. Then Count Lieven appeared, who had just left Alexander. He gave them to understand that Alexander had not altered the opinions he had formed at Laibach, and Metternich left Hanover, convinced that he had completely succeeded in the object of his journey. But the attitude of Russia remained doubtful. In St. Petersburg there were obvious preparations for war. Maps and geographical instruments were prepared, tents and transports got ready, Admiral Grieg and General Diebich were drawing up schemes for the campaign. Even Nesselrode thought it possible that Russia would draw the sword.

Four Points for Turkey.

Austria and Great Britain agreed to press upon the Porte the acceptance of four points, taken from the Russian ultimatum. These were :—

1. Restoration of the churches.
2. Protection of the Christian religion.
3. Separation in punishment between the guilty and the innocent.
4. Evacuation and reorganisation of the Danubian Principalities.

The Turks at first showed some signs of concession, but soon became conscious that their opponents were not in earnest. The appointment of Sadik to the post of Reis Effendi marked a recrudescence of stubborn resistance. Lützow, the Austrian Minister, when he pressed the acceptance of the four points, received no support from Strangford. Sadik said that he could not evacuate the Danubian Principalities and establish a Hospodar until the rebellious Greeks had given up their chimerical hopes of establishing the kingdom of their ancestors. The other points he was ready to carry out as far as possible. It grew more and more apparent that a peaceful solution would be found impracticable.

Demetrius Ypsilanti as Commander-in-Chief.

On June 7th, 1821, a meeting was held in the monastery of Kaltetsi, at which a committee of six was established, with Petrobey as president, which was given unlimited power in civil and military affairs. On June 22nd there landed at Astros, in the Gulf of Argolis, Demetrius Ypsilanti, brother of Alexander. His arrival had been anxiously expected ; he was active and determined, but had not a commanding presence. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and General Thomas Gordon, who had fought in Russia and Germany against the French, was associated with him. Demetrius had, however, little authority, being opposed by the

priests, while the defeat of his brother Alexander seriously affected his position. In September he directed an expedition against Kara Ali, the Turkish Kapudan-Bey, or High Admiral. Kara Ali was expecting assistance from Mehmed and Omer Brionis, who, however, were prevented from passing the Isthmus of Corinth, and, despairing of saving Tripolitza, Kara Ali left the Morea. This city was in a desperate position, and on September 27th overtures were made for its surrender. On October 5th, before the conditions of capitulation were settled, besiegers broke into the walls and opened one of the gates. A scene of murder and violence ensued, and Kolokotronis had great difficulty in saving his Albanian friends. Women and children were thrown from the windows, and when at last the citadel surrendered, 10,000 victims had perished. Two thousand unarmed persons who had escaped from the city were murdered in the ravines of Mœnalus. When Ypsilanti and Gordon returned, on October 14th, they found a heap of smouldering ruins, and were quite unable to restrain the wild indiscipline of their followers.

Ypsilanti's Difficulties.

There were constant disputes between the clergy and the military. The Primates and the chiefs of the citizens sided with the clergy, and Petrobey, the Mainote, threw his weight into the other scale. Kolokotronis could hardly hold his own against them. The Primates would not pardon the rescue of the Albanians, and Petrobey was jealous of all the plunder which the soldiers had secured. Ypsilanti was forced to abandon an expedition which he had planned against Patras, and his attacks upon Nauplia were repulsed. Acrocorinthus was taken on January 26th, 1822, in consequence of a mutiny of the Albanians, who formed part of the garrison. Nor did he succeed better in his attempts to establish a national government. He had summoned an assembly to meet in Argos, for the plague-stricken Tripolitza was impossible for the purpose; but time slipped by and no one attended. In the meanwhile another effort towards national government had been made beyond the Isthmus of Corinth, at the instigation of Alexander Mavrocordatos and Theodore Negris.

A Provisional Government Formed.

Prince Mavrocordatos sprang from a Phanariot family, and was passionately devoted to the cause of Greece. He joined the Hetairia in 1820 and published a pamphlet in which he predicted the fall of Turkey. He compared that country to a sick man who prefers death to the amputation of a withered limb. He advocated the partition of Turkey, giving the Principalities and Servia to Austria, the southern coast of the Black Sea to Russia, Cyprus and Crete to Great Britain, and the rest to Greece. When he heard

of the insurrection he sacrificed his fortune to the cause and landed on September 3rd at Mesolonghi. Ypsilanti received him with pleasure, but Kolokotronis laughed at his spectacles and frock-coat. Theodore Negris had been attached as Secretary to the Turkish Embassy at Paris. When he heard of the rising in the Morea, he went thither instead of taking up his post in France. Difficulties broke out between these two men and Ypsilanti, and they determined to act for themselves. Negris went to Salona, Mavrocordatos to Mesolonghi. There he collected a small constituent assembly. The Constitution of Western Hellas was completed on November 16th, 1821. A provisional Government was formed in the shape of a Gerusia of ten members. Its duty was to preserve justice and to continue the War of Independence. It was only to hold its power until a National Government should be formed.

Constitution of the Morea.

On the other hand, a Constitution for Eastern Hellas was promulgated on November 28th, 1821, of a much more elaborate character, based on French and American models. It established a national senate and contemplated a constitutional king. The supreme authority was given to an Areopagus of twelve members, who were to hold only provisional authority. The Constitution of the Morea dates from December 12th, 1821. It was drawn up under the influence of Ypsilanti and Kolokotronis, the first being nominated President of the Peloponnesian Gerusia, the upper House of Parliament, the second Commander-in-Chief. In its modesty it resembled rather the Constitution of Mesolonghi than that of the more ambitious Areopagus of Salona.

The "Organic Law of Epidaurus."

Soon afterwards Ypsilanti and Kolokotronis left the National Assembly at Argos, to undertake the reduction of Acrocorinthus, and the members feeling themselves oppressed by the presence of the Turkish garrison at Nauplia, determined to remove to Piadha, on the Gulf of Ægina. They held their meetings in an orange garden, close to the ruins of the ancient Epidaurus. Here, on January 13th, 1822, fifty-nine representatives of Greece declared the independence of the Hellenic nation. They then promulgated a law under the name of the "Organic Law of Epidaurus." It is said that Gallina, an Italian refugee, brought with him a printed collection of modern Constitutions, and that these had considerable influence upon their work. The inhabitants of Hellas were secured in equality before the law, in promotion by merit, protection of property, freedom, equality of taxation, toleration of other religions besides the Greek Catholic Church, abolition of torture and confiscation of property, and the promise of a legal code.

Considerable discussion arose as to whether Greece should be recognised as a monarchy or as a federal republic. Korais, the famous Greek scholar, declared himself for a monarchy. The Constitution of Epidaurus left the matter undecided. It created an executive and a deliberative body. The executive body consisted of five members, who should eventually be elected by the people. This Directory, with a President at its head, was to nominate the ministers and other officers, to command the army and navy, and to conduct diplomatic operations with other countries. The number of the legislature was left for the present undefined. This was all very well upon paper, but it was doubtful how far it would be successful in practice. There was jealousy between the Gerusia of the Morea and the Areopagus of Eastern Hellas, while both gave up their connection with the original Hetairia. The new Government adopted a fresh flag, an owl on a white-and-blue field, instead of the phœnix of the Hetairia. Before it separated, on January 27th, the National Assembly addressed an appeal to Europe. It said, " Our struggle, far from being founded on the basis of a demagogy or a revolution, is a national and holy war, and its only object is to revive the light of freedom, of prosperity, and of honour, which all legally-governed peoples of Europe enjoy." It decided to meet in future at Corinth.

Fall of Janina

Some successes attended the Turks. Janina fell by treachery, and the great Ali was murdered on February 5th, 1822. This put an end to the alliance between the Albanians and the Greeks. Churchit now set himself to subdue the insurrection. His plan was to attack it on two sides, to overcome the Suliotes, to reduce Acarnania and Ætolia to obedience, then to sail to Patras. In the east another army was to reduce that region and then to make its way to the Isthmus. Both armies were to unite in the conquest of the Morea. Kara Ali, now made Kapudan Pasha of the fleet, was to destroy the Greek navy and to reduce the islands.

Massacre in Chios.

Upon the unhappy Chios fell the first blow. Here Lykurgus of Samos had landed on March 22nd with a body of 2,500 men. The Turkish garrison withdrew into the citadel, while the Samians plundered the Custom House, burnt mosques, and murdered Turkish prisoners. They raised the banner of independence and compelled the towns to give their money to the cause. Lykurgus set up a revolutionary Government and conducted himself as master of the island. The Sultan avenged this insult by executing three of the hostages who had been recently sent from Chios, and imprisoning Chian merchants who lived in Constantinople. Kara Ali landed 7,000 Turkish soldiers on April 11th. Lykurgus

managed to escape, but those who were not equally fortunate were ruthlessly butchered. Murder was only checked by the lust of loot. The slave markets of Asia and northern Africa were full of Chiotes sold into slavery. Girls were wrenched from their mother's arms, husband was separated from wife, brother from sister. Of a population of 100,000, only a few thousands remained. The massacre of Chios produced a powerful effect in Europe, and sympathisers were relieved when they heard of the vengeance exacted by Miaoulis, the Hydriot.

"Victory to the Cross!"

On the night of June 18th "a thousand lamps proclaimed the feast of Bairam throughout the boundless East." Kara Ali had invited a number of officers to dinner, the ships were illuminated, and music swelled over the waters. The Psariot, Kanaris, rammed a fireship into the admiral's vessel, and fled, crying, "Victory to the Cross!" The wind carried the fire over the flagship, with its crew of 3,000. Kara Ali, scorched and wounded, was brought to Chios, where he died on the scene of his crimes. His ship blew up, and the rest of the fleet sailed away to the Dardanelles. The Turks in Chios wreaked their vengeance on the mastic villages, which had hitherto been spared, but Kanaris escaped to Psara.

Dark Days for Greece.

It looked as if the cause of Greek independence would fail. In Eastern Hellas everything went badly. Odysseus quarrelled with the Areopagus, and Ypsilanti had to retire into the Morea. Mehmed Dramali was named Viceroy of the Morea, and set out to conquer it with an army of 30,000 men, numerous artillery, and 6,000 cavalry. In the first week of July he reached and overcame Phocis, Locris, Boeotia, and Attica, but was too late to relieve Athens. However, he found the Isthmus unprotected. The Greek Government fled to Argos, leaving their archives and treasure behind. On July 25th he entered Argos and expected soon to have the Morea at his feet. The Suliotes under Marco Botsaris were hard pressed by the Turks, and begged for assistance from Mavrocordatos. A corps of Philhellenes had come to their assistance, embracing officers of foreign countries, who, schooled in war, were now regretting their days of inactivity. There were Germans, French, Poles, and Italians, commanded by Doria of Genoa. Reinforcements arrived from other quarters, so that on June 22nd Mavrocordatos led an army of 3,000 men from the Gulf of Arta to the Valley of Komboti. Still the little band was not free from the canker of jealousy and treachery. Battle was given at Peta in the neighbourhood of Arta on July 17th, when the Turkish governor of Arta led 7,000 men to the storming of the Greek position. Count Normann, a Würtemburger, did his best in the

command, but was lamed by the treachery of Gogos Bakolas, an Albanian of the school of Ali. The defeat of the Greeks was complete, and the fronts of the Philhellene battalions lost their lines. Suli was captured, and the independence of Western Hellas was threatened. The cause of Greek independence trembled in the balance.

The Tsar Intervenes.

At this critical moment the sentiments of the Tsar, Alexander, underwent a change. He sent Tatischev to Vienna to consult with Metternich. He was ready to modify the Four Points, provided that the Powers would declare that he was justified in the withdrawal of his ambassador. Metternich was willing to agree to this, but denied Russia's right to intervene in Greek affairs, and had no wish to weaken the sovereignty of the Sultan over Greece. He proposed, in a memoir of April 19th, 1822, that the Powers should confine themselves to securing the freedom of religion, the safety of person and property, the establishment of regular justice, and the proclamation of an amnesty. All this must be arranged diplomatically with the Porte, preferably at Vienna. He expected to obtain the concurrence of Great Britain, France, and Prussia in these proposals. Metternich was, in fact, engaged in a struggle with Capodistrias, in which he felt confident of success.

Britain Pleads for Greece.

Lord Strangford now threw himself into the breach. He possessed exceptional authority with the Porte, and could say many things which others could not utter. After many struggles he, at the end of April, persuaded the Porte to assent to the evacuation of the Principalities and the nomination of a Hospodar, and two Hospodars were nominated in July—Gregory Ghika and John Stourza. The Porte, however, refused to be checked in the suppression of the Greek revolt. "Leave us to our own business; we have the treaties, and have fulfilled every duty. We have no need of foreign help, and our successes speak for us. The inhabitants of the Morea are giving in; they are pardoned, and their property is protected. What do you wish for more? We refuse to walk in leading-strings like little children." If Strangford spoke of the massacre of Chios, the Turks retaliated with the massacres of Tripolitza, Navarino, Corinth and Athens. Strangford offered himself as plenipotentiary of the Turks in Vienna. Their last word, on August 27th, was, "We are ready to sacrifice everything to Great Britain except our honour and our independence."

It was believed that Russia would be represented at the congress by Capodistrias, but Metternich declared that he was

not afraid. " The man is dead, and I fear neither dead men nor ghosts." However, on July 25th, it was announced that the Tsar would attend the congress without Capodistrias, who had for motives of health requested leave of absence for an indefinite period. The initiated knew that this implied his fall. The Tsar was heard to say, " I had allowed myself to be carried away by the general enthusiasm for the rescue of Greece, but I have not lost sight of the impure origin of the Greek rebellion, nor the danger which my intervention would bring to my allies. Egotism is no longer the basis of policy. The fundamental principles of our truly Holy Alliance are pure." The attention of the Tsar had been drawn from the East to the West, for the revolution in Spain shed a new light over the revolt in Hellas.

CHAPTER IX

SPAIN AND FRANCE

AT the opening of the year 1821 the prospects of the Constitutional Party in Spain were by no means favourable. The days of Argüelles' ministry were numbered. He regarded the Serviles as more dangerous than the Exaltados. On January 29th a Royal chaplain, by name Vinuesa, was arrested, a plan for a *coup d'état* was discovered among his papers, and the town council of Madrid demanded his punishment. The King was insulted when he drove abroad, and quarrels broke out between the militia and his bodyguard, which he was obliged to send away from the palace and to promise to disband. The King turned angrily upon the Ministers, accusing them, before the town council, of treachery, and threatening to arrest them, crying, "I see death before my eyes, but I will not die until I have had my revenge." When the Cortes met on March 1st the King broke out into abuse of the Ministry and dismissed them. However, he allowed the Cortes to appoint their successors until assistance could arrive from abroad. The heads of the new Ministry were Feliu and Bardaji, both Moderados, but disliked alike by the Serviles and Exaltados, who were at this time much exercised by the advance of the Austrians into Naples and Piedmont. The party of reaction gained strength in the mountains and on the plains, and 2,000 Basques marched from their fortresses against the militia of Vittoria. **Unrest in Spain.**

Rioting arose in Madrid when it was known that Vinuesa had been condemned to ten years' banishment instead of to death, and the rioters broke into his prison on March 4th and murdered him. The club, Fontana de Oro, declared that all Serviles should perish like Vinuesa. The King agreed no better with his new Ministers than with their predecessors, and was pressed by the extreme party to break with them. For a time he hesitated, fearing the violence of the mob; but at the end of June he dissolved the Cortes, having previously sent a message to Pasquier and Pozzo di Borgo in Paris, begging them to come to his assistance.

The French Government was not disposed to assent to these overtures. They recalled Laval from Madrid and sent in his place the Comte de Lagarde, who was favourably regarded by the King.

But he had instructions to hold out no hope of help. Pasquier repeatedly said, " The best service we can do the King is to make him understand that he must find safety in Spain itself. He must endeavour to obtain the confidence of one of the parties and base his authority on the wealthy section of the nation." The Serviles redoubled their activity. Some who had fled to Paris preached a crusade against the Government of their country, others settled in Bayonne and tried to stir up an insurrection in the Basque provinces. The Ministers complained of this conduct to the French Government.

Riego's Popularity.

On the other hand, Spain became the asylum of political refugees from Naples, Piedmont and France. They were well received by Riego in Aragon ; indeed, his conduct was so indiscreet that he was relieved of his command. The news of this produced a riot in Madrid, so that military force had to be employed. Busts of Riego were carried about the streets in procession, as if he were a saint, while curses were uttered against the ministry. The disorders spread to the provinces. A Servile, General Venegas, had been sent as Governor to Cadiz, but the people rose and insisted on his recall. Seville and the principal towns of Andalusia joined in the demonstrations. Moreno followed suit, and Corunna declared herself for Liberalism.

" The Shirtless."

Ministers had expected support from the extraordinary Cortes which met in the autumn, but they were defeated by a motion of Calatrava on December 15th. This gave new confidence to the Exaltados. Radical clubs were formed, called *Descamisados*—" the Shirtless "—corresponding to the *Sansculottes*—" the Trouserless "—of the French Revolution. The King was not anxious to get rid of his Ministry at the bidding of the Radicals, but they fell on January 10th, 1822. The extraordinary Cortes concluded their sittings a month later. The King and his deputies took leave of each other with mutual compliments. Indeed, national peace was restored, but under the ashes the fire still smouldered. The general result was to give confidence to the Serviles. Toreno cried, " If the King would only mount his horse, he could extinguish the Cortes with a single word." Guerillero parties came together in the Basque provinces, and bands of Royalists appeared before Pamplona and Bilbao. But the Serviles had no more strength or unity than their opponents.

We have already seen that the Ultras gained a victory in the French parliamentary elections of the autumn of 1820. Richelieu had met this by including Villèle and Corbière in the Ministry, hoping to satisfy the extreme party. But he soon found that

it was difficult to separate the wheat from the tares. This became evident in dealing with two measures, which concerned the land grants and the pension list of Napoleon and the pension fund of the clergy. The Ultras could not bear to saddle the country with grants to the murderers of the Duc d'Enghien and the friends of revolution, while General Foy defended the cause of his comrade in arms. But it was eventually determined that the grants should only extend to the lives of the widows and children of the recipients. A considerable sum was in hand as a surplus of the money appropriated to clerical pensions, and it was proposed to spend this in founding twelve new bishoprics and increasing the incomes of existing priests. But the Ultras demanded thirty new bishoprics, and, in the discussion which followed, Bonald denounced civil marriage as favouring concubinage. Similar differences of opinion arose regarding the law of the censorship of the Press.

The "Congregationists."

As a result of all this, Villèle and Corbière broke with Richelieu. The Comte d'Artois was the head of the Ultra party, which had its seat in his residence, the Pavillon Marsan, and was known as "the Cabinet Vert." He had promised his support to Richelieu, but the temptation of being a party leader was too strong for him. He put forward Marshal Victor, Duc de Belluno, as a candidate for the Ministry of War, and when the King and Richelieu refused this, Villèle and Corbière resigned their places and Chateaubriand retired from the Embassy at Berlin. At this time, also, the "Congregation" became a political force and "Congregationist" a political expression. The name was first given to those who frequented the teaching of a Jesuit father in the seminary for foreign missions in Paris; but out of this there arose a movement in the factories, workshops, prisons and schools to protect the young from infidelity. Civil and military authorities began to take a prominent part in religious processions, and were compelled to go to confession. This was stimulated by the Cabinet Vert, of which Montmorency and Polignac were members. The influence of the Congregation was greatly exaggerated by public opinion. It was regarded as a powerful secret society for the uprooting of everything Liberal. It was really a name for a political party of a reactionary character. The Pavillon Marsan made use of Madame de Cayla, the King's mistress, for the purpose of influencing his opinion in an Ultra direction.

Death of Richelieu.

Richelieu was confident of the strength of his position; he kept up a friendly correspondence with Villèle, and depended on the increasing prosperity of the country, the increase of the

revenue, the rise in the funds, and the solemn promise of assistance which he had received from "Monsieur," the Comte d'Artois. However, when the renewal of a fifth of the Chamber took place, the Right, the Ultras, received a large accession of strength. So, when Parliament met on November 5th, an alliance was formed between the Ultras and the Liberals, based upon an agreement with regard to the foreign policy of the country. The King, at first, roused himself to support his Ministry, but he soon fell back again into a condition of apathy, while Madame de Cayla exerted herself to win his sympathies for the Pavillon Marsan. Eventually Richelieu resigned on December 12th, 1821, and when he died, a few months later, though the courtiers did not attend his funeral, he was mourned by the country as a worthy son of France.

The Pavillon Marsan Ministry.

The new Ministry was entirely the work of the Pavillon Marsan. Vincent, the Austrian Ambassador, wrote to Vienna, "Monsieur stands to-day at the head of the Government." Villèle took the portfolio of Finance, Corbière the Home Office, and Peyronnet, a friend of Madame de Cayla, was made Minister of Justice. Then followed aristocrats, who also belonged to the Congregation. Montmorency was at the Foreign Office, Clermont-Tonnerre at the Admiralty. Victor, who had a strange influence over Monsieur, was made Minister of War. Montmorency had been a comrade of Lafayette in America and elsewhere. The Post Office, the Ministry of Police and the police prefectures of Paris were all given to Congregationists. Chateaubriand was sent to London in the place of Decazes.

The Carbonari in France.

The new Ministry proceeded to take strong measures with regard to police supervision and the freedom of the periodical Press. This brought to an end the alliance between the Liberals and the Ultras, which had caused the overthrow of Richelieu. Benjamin Constant cried, "The *Charte* is violated: the Ministry has forgotten its oath and is endangering the throne." Among the peers, Barante, Broglie, Lanjuinais and Boissy d'Anglas distinguished themselves by their defence of the freedom of the Press, while Talleyrand and Molé sharpened their tongues, and the dismissed Ministers supported the Opposition. This want of moderation stirred the Radicals to action, and a branch of the Carbonari was established in France, which found adherents in the army and the capital. Leroux and Buchez were members, and also Ary Scheffer, the painter. Lafayette became honorary president of the French Vendite, and there was a recrudescence of Republicanism after the death of Napoleon, but some still

looked to the Duke of Reichstadt. Lafayette advised the summoning of a constituent assembly.

Military Unrest.

In December, 1821, a rising took place in the military school at Saumur, and this was repeated in February, 1822, while the 1st of January saw a mutiny in the garrison of Belfort. This gave the Ultras an excuse for refusing concessions and for stronger measures. Labourdonnaye said, "Every day we hear of calls to insurrection, which are only the echoes of our debates. Here they proclaim Napoleon II., there a Republic. This is not the time to demand a larger freedom, but to strengthen the hands of Government."

Repressive Measures.

In the supplementary elections the Liberals won in Paris, but the Ultras in the country generally. The summer session, which lasted from June 4th to August 18th, was marked by stormy debates. Four non-commissioned officers, of the garrison of La Rochelle, were executed for being members of a *Vente;* General Berton, who was responsible for the second rising at Saumur, was guillotined; an artisan of Thouars who harboured him, and another who carried a tricolour before him, met with the same fate. The Moderates were disgusted with this severity. What made the matter worse was the suspicion that *agents provocateurs* had been employed. The Ultras continued their course of violence. Education was attacked. The Abbé Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis *in partibus*, was made Grand Master of the University; he was not a fanatic, but he demanded orthodoxy in all teachers. Sylvestre de Sacy, a Jansenist, was driven from his post on the Board of Education, and Guizot and Cousin were suspended from their chairs. The *École Normale* was closed, and the medical faculty of Paris was suppressed. It was reopened in 1823, with the loss of eleven of its most learned professors. The Liberal Press was subjected to persecution.

France and Spain.

It was natural that the attitude of the French Government to foreign politics should undergo a change. Since the reaction in 1821, the yellow fever had made its appearance in Catalonia. In order to prevent its spreading into France a military cordon was established in the passes of the Pyrenees. This was regarded as a threat by the Spanish Liberals. Although the fever disappeared in the winter, the military cordon was still maintained and, indeed, became an army of observation. The Serviles began to look upon the French generals as their best friends, and King Ferdinand rejoiced at the victory of the Ultras. He expected the soldiers of Louis XVIII. to liberate him from the yoke of the Jacobin faction. He asked that his former Minister, Eguia, who was now

in Bayonne, might be supported by the French Government, but Montmorency was not prepared to go so far.

Spain Loses her Colonies.

The political position of Spain went from bad to worse. In the new Cortes the Exaltados had a decided majority. Riego was made President of the Chamber, but there was great difficulty in finding a Prime Minister until at last Martinez de la Rosa, a Moderado, was persuaded to accept the post. King Ferdinand, however, detested all constitutional government, and aimed at restoring his former absolute power. The peasants, stirred up by the Serviles, declared themselves on the side of the monarchy, and the Exaltados feared outbreaks. In these circumstances it was almost impossible to pass reasonable laws, while the finances of the country were in a terrible condition. A deficit was announced of 200,000,000 reals. The army was a source of enormous expense, chiefly caused by the inordinate number of officers. A still worse blow was struck by the defection of the colonies from the mother country. A republic had been established in Buenos Ayres; New Grenada and Venezuela had joined together to form the united free State of Colombia; Mexico, Chile and Peru declared their independence.

Failure of a *coup d'état.*

All these miseries were contemplated by the King with satisfaction, and the occasion seemed ripe for a *coup d'état*, which was to take place on May 20th, the King's name-day. But the preparation for it was insufficient. It had been intended that the garrison of Madrid should march upon Aranjuez, but this plan was given up because no officer of high rank could be found to take part in it. The Serviles had more success in Valencia, where, on the same day, a number of rebellious artillerymen took possession of the citadel and chose the notorious Elio as their leader. The common danger united for the time both Moderados and Exaltados. They pressed the King to return to his capital, which he entered in the early morning of June 27th.

Military Revolt.

Three days later, on June 30th, some soldiers of the Royal Guards murdered one of the officers, Landaburus, who was known to have Radical opinions. The Guards then prepared to attack the infantry and the militia, and had the King placed himself at their head he might have gained the day. But he lacked the courage for such a step. In fact, he removed four battalions of the Guards to the hunting palace of El Pardo, leaving only two battalions in Madrid. This juncture might also have been utilised by the King for the restoration of his own authority. Luiz Fernandez de Cordova advised him to go to the Pardo or some such place in the neighbourhood of Madrid, and with his

guard form a nucleus for the troops who were devoted to his interests. But Cordova wished that the *coup d'état* should result, not in an absolute monarchy, but in a moderate constitution. The King, however, again refused to commit himself.

The Palace Besieged.

Relations were thus strained on both sides. Riego tried to persuade the permanent Deputation of the Cortes to adopt rigorous measures, and ordered the commandant of the artillery to throw a few bombs into the palace. On the other hand, no one knew what might be expected from the regiments at the Pardo. Up to the present moment Martinez de la Rosa and his colleagues had preserved an attitude of unshaken firmness. They had gone every day to the palace to keep the King company, under the protection of his two battalions of Guards, and were branded as traitors by the Exaltados. At last, very early in the morning of July 7th, the Royal Guards from the Pardo marched into Madrid, where they were opposed by the militia under the command of San Miguel. One of the battalions ran away. The three others pressed on into the Plaza Mayor and the Puerte del Sol, but were received with murderous fire. They also bolted. A few reached the Palace, where their comrades on guard had received no orders to assist them. The palace was now the centre to which every one moved—militia, soldiers, the mob, Morello, Ballesteros and Riego. Cannon were placed at the ends of the streets. The courtiers feared the palace would be stormed, but at the request of the King firing ceased. A capitulation was drawn up, by which the battalions which had marched in from the Pardo were to be disbanded and the two others were to be allowed to return to their barracks with arms and baggage. These last hesitated to obey, but they were compelled to submit.

The King's Meanness.

In this crisis the King behaved with characteristic meanness. The night before the attack he had detained the ministers, with the exception of the Minister for War, in the palace, giving them nothing to eat, and exposing them to the insults of the servants. If the Guards had conquered, their heads would have fallen. Now that the attack had failed, the King entreated Martinez de la Rosa to remain at his post. He thanked the garrison and the militia for their patriotic conduct, and then betook himself to bed. He said to Brunetti and Lagarde, the Austrian and French Ambassadors, "As our project has failed, you must do something for me; you must make haste and send an army to Spain." He was not afraid of the guillotine, but trembled before the knife of the assassin.

The conquerors used their victory with a moderation which

excited the admiration of the foreign ambassadors. Riego vied with Morello in preserving order. The proposal for a regency put forward by the Council of State and the Deputation of the Cortes was finally rejected. Officers of high rank declared they would rather be hewn in pieces than suffer any attack upon the throne. The trial of the Guards exhibited the conduct of the King in a shameful light, but no notice was taken of it, as he dismissed of his own accord some of the worst of the palace officials. But one thing was certain—the Ministry must be changed. Martinez de la Rosa told the King that as a Spaniard he would defend him with his musket in his hand, but that he would no longer serve him as a minister. Still the King hesitated to commit the seals to the Exaltados.

The Northern Insurgents.

At last San Miguel accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. He had once been head of the staff to Riego, but commanded the "holy" militia battalions on July 7th. He was an eloquent political speaker and a poet, but unfit for his new office. His colleagues included all the "patriots." Lopez Baños, the hero of the Isla de Leon, became Minister of War; Navarro, Minister of Justice, was called the Danton of the Cortes. They began to press hardly both on the Moderados and the Serviles, and the hated Elio was executed in Valencia. One of the first duties of the new Ministry was to deal with the rising in the north. The insurgents had gained possession of the fortress of Seo de Urgel, at the foot of the Pyrenees, and had established a regency there on August 15th. It consisted of three prominent Serviles—Mata Florida, the notorious Minister of Justice of Ferdinand, the fanatical Archbishop of Tarragona, and Baron d'Eroles, who commanded the Army of Faith. After solemn high mass, they proclaimed Ferdinand as an absolute king. They declared all laws passed since the promulgation of the Constitution to be null and void; proposed to summon a Cortes of the old kind; and called upon Spaniards on both sides of the ocean to give their consent and obedience. They also sought for assistance from foreign countries. They described themselves to Louis XVIII., the Comte d'Artois, and Montmorency as the defenders of the sacred cause, and asked for 2,000,000 francs, the loan of two Swiss regiments, a transport ship, and a frigate. They were joined by peasants and artisans, who clamoured for the destruction of the "godless blacks," as the Liberals were called in Spain, and General Quesada raised the standard of absolutism in Navarre. All Catalonia, with the exception of Barcelona, was in revolt. A junta of rebels was formed in Aragon. Mina was

summoned from Leon to undertake the command beyond the Ebro against these intemperate Royalists and, in such circumstances, it was necessary to confine the King in the palace at Madrid.

Metternich's Attitude.

What was the attitude of the Powers in this juncture? Hervey, who had succeeded Wellesley in the summer of 1821 as British Minister, was favourable to the Liberals. He had assisted the militia who were wounded on July 7th. He took a different line from that of the rest of the Diplomatic Corps. On the other hand, the Tsar was ready to send 40,000 men, as the contingent of a European army, to march through Austria, Italy, and the South of France, over the Pyrenees. Metternich pursued a middle course. He told the Tsar that Great Britain would never agree to his proposals, and that an armed intervention would only make matters worse for Ferdinand. When he heard of the failure of July 7th, he deeply lamented the cowardice of the King, but he did not share the feelings of the Tsar. He had no desire to see a renewal of the friendship between France and Russia, which he thought might end in the introduction of a Spanish *Charte*.

France's Conditions.

France was not indisposed to intervene, under certain conditions. The King must sacrifice some of his authority, and then approach the French frontier with a body of trustworthy soldiers. Louis XVIII. warned him against too great stiffness and stubbornness, and after July 7th Ferdinand was more ready to yield, and on July 24th, to the surprise of Lagarde, he promised to restore the "Cortes of Estates." But he demanded immediate assistance to obtain his freedom.

Lagarde had promised him 15,000,000 reals; the King demanded 2,000,000 more, and waited impatiently for the day when French bayonets should gleam from the summit of the Pyrenees. The French Ultra press urged the ministry to save the prisoner of Madrid from the fate of Louis XVI., but Villèle put a curb on the eagerness of Montmorency. He had indeed sent assistance to the regency of Seo de Urgel, although he had denied the fact in the Chambers, but Villèle insisted that this should cease in future. France must maintain her position of armed neutrality, nor permit the passage of foreign armies through her territories. Everyone was now looking towards the coming congress, at which it was generally known that Spanish affairs would form an important part of its deliberations.

CHAPTER X

THE CONGRESS OF VERONA

Metternich's Prophecy.

AT the close of the Congress of Laibach it had been resolved to hold another in the following year, and, since it seemed that the affairs of Italy would be the most prominent subject of discussion, it was intended to hold the congress in Florence. But the risings in Spain and Greece altered the complexion of affairs, and as Austria wished to remain at the head of the European concert, the place of meeting was fixed at Verona in her territory. Metternich prophesied that the Congress of Verona would make an epoch in the history of the world. The Tsar had promised to attend the preliminary debates in person. Montmorency, Bernstorff, and Londonderry were also expected, but news arrived that on August 12th, 1822, Londonderry, better known as Castlereagh, had perished by his own hand. He was succeeded by George Canning, who occupied an entirely different position in foreign politics. Wellington was to go to Verona in place of Londonderry, but he was bound by the instructions of the Cabinet.

The Plenipotentiaries

Alexander was still embittered against the Liberals of Spain. He said that Spain was the headquarters of Jacobinism, which threatened destruction to every part of Europe. He held up the Austrian intervention in Naples as an example to be imitated. In these views he was supported by Pozzo di Borgo, whom he had summoned from Paris. Chateaubriand was appointed French plenipotentiary at Verona, and with him were Laferronays and Caraman. Montmorency was only to be present in case of need. Villèle was made a Count and placed at the head of the French Ministry, a step which seemed to promise moderation. As Wellington passed through Paris, and represented to him the danger of a Spanish war, Villèle gave him unexpected assurances of peace. He said that France would not act unless her frontiers were attacked, or unless Ferdinand were either deposed or murdered. He would not permit any congress to give orders to France, or compel her to allow the transit of foreign troops. When he approached the subject of a European Congress, Wellington said that he would give no promises, as the British Government, which was answerable to Parliament, would not undertake

uncertain obligations. Wellington had used similar language at Vienna. He assured the Tsar that there was not the same danger of revolutionary infection in Spain as in Naples, and asserted that intervention in the internal affairs of a country could only be justified by the most pressing necessity. Montmorency was restrained by the instructions of Villèle; however, he showed that he regarded a war between France and Spain as inevitable, and sought in this contingency the support of the other Powers. Metternich found it difficult to satisfy the wishes both of Great Britain and Russia. His plan was to restore a Cortes of Estates, with some alterations. He dreaded an armed intervention, and would not agree to a Russian army passing the Pyrenees.

Personalities at the Congress.

The Congress of Verona opened in the middle of October. It was accompanied by the dances, dinners, and reviews which seemed indispensable to the congresses of those days, and rivalled in brilliancy the Congress of Vienna. The two Emperors were there, accompanied by Metternich and Nesselrode, and Frederick William III., with his sons William and Charles. Alexander von Humboldt honoured it with his presence; Hardenberg came for a short time, but soon left his place to Bernstorff; the Italian princes had sent representatives; Montmorency arrived, but was subordinate to Chateaubriand; Wellington and Strangford were the observed of all observers. Countess Lieven was the Aspasia of the assembly, for which Rossini composed some lovely melodies. The old Roman amphitheatre was full of reigning princes and their ministers.

The Congress and Spain.

The affairs of Spain first claimed attention, and the proceedings were opened by a memoir of Metternich's, in which he explained his views. He had a difficulty in picking his way through the conflicting interests of Europe, but came to the conclusion that the cabinets should agree upon a common line of action. Montmorency now exceeded his powers by producing a memoir, which ended with three questions:—

1. If France should be compelled to withdraw her ambassador from Madrid, would the other Powers follow her example?

2. Would they give their armed support to France in her efforts to check revolutionary movements elsewhere?

3. Would they give France any measure of material support if she should ask for it?

The three Eastern Powers were naturally well disposed to these proposals, but Wellington held himself aloof.

Isolation of Great Britain.

There followed a scene of confusion. Metternich did his best to discover a compromise, but the task was extremely difficult. Alexander would not hear of half-measures. He said, "I will not leave Verona till I have ended this business. We have made an alliance against the revolution, and must attack it where it seems most dangerous." He found fault with Villèle's weakness, and did not think Montmorency strong enough. On October 30th a meeting was held to deliver the answer to Montmorency's note. The Tsar expressed his delight that France had recognised the necessity of stifling the revolutionary outbreak in Spain, and he would give the assistance which Montmorency asked for. Metternich also answered Montmorency's questions in the affirmative, but proposed that the Allies should confer as to their extent, character and direction. Bernstorff was more cautious. But Wellington took an entirely different line. He said that, since April, 1820, the British Government had neglected no opportunity of recommending the Allies to refrain from every intervention in the internal politics of Spain. The object of their policy was the maintenance of peace. He hoped that peace would be preserved between Spain and France; but, if this should not be the case, he should take no responsibility on himself. Thus there came about a deep breach between the Eastern Powers and Great Britain, which had been concealed at Troppau and Laibach. This was due to the death of Castlereagh and the influence of Canning and, to some extent, of Wellington himself.

The first formal meeting of the congress was held on October 31st. Metternich shadowed forth an alliance between Russia, Austria and Prussia, and spoke of a peaceful intervention in Spain, to encourage the several parties of the nation, and in this he thought Great Britain might assist. Wellington, however, protested against any action with regard to Spain that might seem to be of the nature of a threat, and declined to mediate between France and Spain. It was determined to adjourn the conferences. In the meantime instructions for the ambassadors of the other four Powers were to be drawn up and communicated to Wellington.

Differences Among the Powers.

The four Powers set to work. The protest of Wellington had tended to unite them, but they still differed among themselves. Metternich was ready to take some measures, but he saw that the result of these would be the breach of diplomatic relations. Bernstorff was agitated by similar difficulties. The Russians denied that this breach might take place as preparatory to war. Pozzo di Borgo declared that if France hesitated he would go to

Paris and put himself at the head of the Spanish Royalists and compel the Government to act. Chateaubriand and Laferronays were disposed to a formal action, as was Montmorency, who, however, hesitated to engage his Government. He told the Eastern Powers that France could not promise to withdraw her ambassador from Madrid, even if they should do so; that everything he proposed was subject to reference to Paris.

"The Hottest Day" at Verona.

The protocol of the four Powers was ready on November 19th. It designated as *casus foederis* an attack of Spain upon France, a rebellion against the Government, the deposition of King Ferdinand, legal action against him or the princes of the Royal house, any attempt to alter the succession. The following day, November 20th, was described by Gentz as the hottest and most important day in Verona. Wellington refused to place his signature to the protocol, urging that it would only serve to irritate the Spanish Government. It was impossible for the British Sovereign to hold the same language as his allies. All that Great Britain could do would be to moderate the excitement which was sure to arise in Madrid. These words from the mouth of Wellington, an undoubted Tory, produced a very powerful effect, and marked the separation of Great Britain from the Alliance. Montmorency went to Paris to press his views, and Chateaubriand came into the foreground. He had been regarded by his colleagues rather as a man of letters than as a statesman, and wrote to a friend, "I do but little, and regard myself rather as a poet by the grave of Juliet than as plenipotentiary to a European congress." He held constant interviews with Alexander, with whom he took long walks. These two enthusiastic natures had a sympathy for each other, and both yearned to destroy the dragon of revolution beyond the Pyrenees. At the same time Chateaubriand knew quite well that the congress would never make war.

France and Spain.

Villèle was much discontented at the turn which the congress was taking. He did not look with satisfaction at a breach with Spain. He knew that it would lead to the increase of British influence in the Peninsula, which would be used to gain possession of Cuba, or of the commerce of the New World. Lagarde informed him that the new ambassador, William A'Court, was obtaining strong influence with the Spanish Ministry, and was drafting a treaty of commerce. At the same time the influence and power of the Royalist regency at Seo de Urgel was declining. All this disposed Villèle to caution and to the maintenance of "peace with honour." The Ultras, however, repeated their violent language, and, after the elections of November 20th, they won consider-

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ably in power. Out of eighty-six seats the Liberals only secured eight, Benjamin Constant, their leader, being defeated. Montmorency was well received by the King, and was made a duke, but he did not carry the Ministry with him. Villèle would not agree to the recalling of the French Ambassador from Madrid. He allowed that the delivery of the notes should be postponed; but on December 12th the Eastern Powers determined not to permit a postponement of more than eight days.

Metternich's Embarrassment.

Metternich was also in great embarrassment. He realised the danger of an intervention in Spain, but was dragged in tow by the fiery zeal of Alexander. He knew that France would never permit the passage of Russian troops. At the same time, his deepest feeling was that activity in Spain might excuse negligence in the Levant. The affairs of the East had, at first, been neglected in the Congress of Verona. Strangford and Gentz were secretly well disposed to Turkey. Tatischev, one of the Russian plenipotentiaries, however, urged the acceptance of the terms previously proposed by Metternich, including the evacuation of the Principalities and the nomination of Hospodar. He also asked that the limitations, which prevented the navigation of the Black Sea, should be removed. The Porte had attempted to injure the trade of Southern Russia, by preventing Sardinian, Spanish, Portuguese, and other vessels from entering the Black Sea, which they had hitherto been able to do under the Russian flag; also it became necessary to prevent Greek merchant ships from entering the Black Sea and being afterwards turned into warships. The measures taken by the Porte had sensibly increased British commerce in the Black Sea, and Canning was not anxious to lose this advantage. The consequence of all these proposals was that Alexander was more disposed to follow the lead of the other Powers in his dealings with the Porte.

Greece and the Congress.

This change greatly disappointed the Greeks and their friends. In the autumn the provisional Government of Greece had determined to bring their case before the congress. They sent Count Andrea Metaxas and Jourdain, a French Philhellene, to present their views, and to hand a note to the assembled plenipotentiaries. It said: "Streams of blood have been shed, but the cause of the Cross is triumphant. The Greeks will never lay down their arms until they have secured their independence. They will not listen to any arrangement which has not been made with the concurrence of their own representatives. If this declaration is not accepted it must be regarded as a protest, which the whole of Greece lays at the feet of the divine justice, trusting to Europe and the great

family of Christians." Metaxas and Jourdain were detained at Ancona in quarantine, and the note was forwarded to Verona, where it was regarded as impertinent. It was left unanswered, and the Papal Government was asked to inform the envoys that it would be useless for them to continue their journey, as they would be stopped at the Austrian frontier. Metternich also complained that Greek refugees and Philhellene rebels were allowed to remain at Leghorn. He treated the Greek patriots as if they were Carbonari.

Metternich's Threat to Italy.

In Italy the course of bloodthirsty vengeance still continued. Silvio Pellico and Maroncelli were exposed, laden with chains, in the Piazetta of Saint Mark, in Venice, and publicly condemned to a long imprisonment. In Modena nine patriots were sentenced to death, and one, a priest, was executed. It was idle for Italian Liberals to expect any satisfactory settlement from the congress. However, it was determined that Piedmont should be gradually evacuated, and the garrison of Naples was reduced. Metternich threatened the further interference of the Powers, which the Italian States themselves strongly objected to. He also spoke of the establishment of a Central Commission of Enquiry, to keep a constant watch over the Italian Governments, but this was not brought into action. The influence of Austria and Metternich over the Italian peninsula remained practically undisturbed. Charles Albert, Prince of Carignan, still remained a great difficulty. Metternich thought, not of deposing him from succession, but of an abdication in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, who was then an infant. Charles Albert was supported by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his father-in-law, by the French Government, and by the Tsar. Wellington and Bernsdorff gave their adhesion to the same view. At last Metternich was brought to see that the deposition of the Prince of Carignan would not only be a crime, but a political mistake, as it would aim a serious blow at the principles of legitimacy.

The "Monroe Doctrine" Originated.

A declaration made by Wellington on November 24th, in favour of the Spanish colonies, caused dismay among the Powers. He said that Great Britain had determined to consider the *de facto* Governments of the revolted Spanish colonies as belligerent, and that she would have to go further and recognise one or more of these Governments in order to protect her commerce from piracy. Great Britain had been compelled to this step by the previous message of President Monroe, dated March 8th, 1822, which recognised the independence of the Spanish colonies, and laid the foundation of the "Monroe doctrine." Canning could not allow

the Americans to usurp the whole of the South American trade. The other four Powers protested. Metternich said, speaking in the name of his Emperor, that His Majesty, true to the principles on which the order of society and the preservation of legitimate government repose, could not recognise the independence of the Spanish-American provinces, and his Catholic Majesty had formally renounced their sovereignty. Bernstorff did not conceal his dislike of "governments whose existence depends only on revolt and anarchy." The Tsar recommended a reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies, which did not prejudge the question of their independence. Chateaubriand warned the congress from recognising a form of government which evidently differed from that prevailing in Europe. He asked for an arrangement which might secure to everyone the advantage of commerce, and reconcile the rights of legitimacy with the claims of policy. Wellington only remarked that his Government had done its best to reconcile Spain and her colonies, but did not retract a word of the declaration. It was obvious that the independence of the Spanish colonies would soon be recognised by Great Britain.

The "Holy Alliance" Ended.

The congress closed in the middle of December. The three Powers sent a circular to their ambassadors, which may be regarded as its testament. It spoke of a happy settlement of affairs in Italy, of the unanimous rejection of the rebellion in the East of Europe, of the miserable condition of the Peninsula, as an example of revolutionary crime against the eternal laws of the moral order of the world. It said that there was no doubt that the system followed by the Sovereigns was in complete harmony with the strength of ruling Powers and the well-understood interests of peoples. All governments were warned to lend their support and constant aid to suppress the disturbers of the public peace, who in more than one country were aiming at revolution, destruction, and a condition of complete impotence. It was obvious the Holy Alliance was at an end. Great Britain had completely broken with it, if indeed she had ever belonged to it, and France was only able to give it a half-hearted and divided support.

CHAPTER XI

FRENCH INTERVENTION IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Wellington as Mediator.

IN Paris parties were divided in opinion between peace and war. Villèle, supported by the commercial classes, was at the head of the peace party; the Comte d'Artois and the party of the Pavillon Marsan were at the head of the other. The latter hoped that Montmorency would have his way at Verona, and on December 4th, Pozzo di Borgo was sent to support him. On December 9th Wellington appeared to be on the side of the Moderates. At Verona he had declined to mediate between France and Spain, but now, under the influence of Canning, he offered to mediate, although there was not much chance of mediation being accepted. When he left Paris, on December 20th, he was under the impression that peace could still be preserved. Four days later the offer of British mediation was rejected.

France Decides for Intervention.

The French Cabinet met on Christmas Day, 1822. The instructions of the three Powers had been sent two days before, and all the Ministers, except Villèle, determined to support their views and to recall the French Ambassador from Madrid. Unexpectedly, however, Louis XVIII. took the side of Villèle. "The relations," he said, "between the other Powers and Spain are not so intimate as ours. They can surrender Spain and her King to the Revolution and the influence of England without neglect of duty, but if I recall my ambassador I must send an army of 100,000 men to assist my nephew." He procured the rejection of the dispatch which Montmorency had drafted for Lagarde. Upon this Montmorency resigned, and Villèle appeared to have triumphed over the Ultras. But the dispatch sent, although it did not actually present an ultimatum or recall the ambassador, threatened a step of this kind.

Chateaubriand was appointed to succeed Montmorency, as a concession to the three Powers. He had for some time eagerly desired the post. When in office he attempted to conciliate Villèle, the King, and Canning, but he was really more eager than Montmorency for a breach with Spain. He warned his countrymen that they must choose between war or revolution, and his ambition urged him to attempt where Napoleon had failed.

His dream was to induce the King of Spain to accept something like a constitutional government, and to establish two or three Bourbon monarchies in Spanish America, as a counterpoise to the United States and to Great Britain; to modify the Peace of Vienna, by securing better frontiers for France in the East, with the help of the Tsar, and to place the Restoration and the greatness of France on a firm basis.

Spain's Reply to the Powers.

We now come to the answer given by Spain to the notes of the four Powers. The French note was answered with moderation. San Miguel complained that France protected Spanish rebels, and declared the unalterable devotion of the country to the Constitution of 1812. He demanded the disarmament of the French Army of the Pyrenees and the driving out of the Serviles refugees. The answer to the other three Powers was couched in stronger tones. The note and the answer were communicated to the Cortes on January 9th, 1823. There was a great outburst of indignation against foreign interference, but no distinction was drawn between France and the other Powers. The diplomatic commission was ordered to prepare a note expressive of the willingness of the Cortes to protect the Constitution and the throne. Galliano and Argüelles fell into each other's arms with tears. On January 11th the address was passed unanimously, and Madrid was illuminated.

France Decides for War.

The ambassadors of the three Powers demanded their passports, the Austrian being the last to leave, on January 16th. The French Ambassador remained at his post, but warned San Miguel that he should depart unless a speedy and decisive change took place in Spain. At last Chateaubriand declared that a longer delay would be an insult to the Allies and an encouragement of the revolution, and, on January 18th, Lagarde demanded his passports. He, however, suggested that King Ferdinand and the Duc d'Angoulême might meet on the banks of the Bidassoa, and make a peace, two conditions of which should be the modification of the Constitution and a political amnesty. If this were done, not only would the French troops retire, but the French army and navy would be placed at the disposal of Spain. This, however, was a mere dream. A last attempt to prevent war was made by Great Britain. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, afterwards Lord Raglan, was sent to Alava to see what he could effect. On his arrival at Madrid on January 21st he found that all hope of a change of the Constitution was in vain, and that no material help could be promised from Great Britain. This failure encouraged the war party in France. War was brought nearer by a raid of Bessières, who was

at the head of some rebels in Aragon. He broke into Castile, defeated the royal troops at Brihuega on January 29th, and caused terror in Madrid. Generals were sent against him independently of their political opinions—Ballesteros, a supporter of the Comuneros; Morello, who was suspected of complicity in the July revolution of 1822; and Abisbal, who had often changed sides. Bessières departed, but the evil impression of his raid was not dissipated.

Britain for Spain.

When Louis XVIII. opened the French Chambers on January 28th, Chateaubriand had triumphed. The aged King announced that 100,000 Frenchmen were ready to march to preserve the Spanish throne for a descendant of Henry IV., and to reconcile this splendid empire with Europe. The Duc d'Angoulême, protected by the god of Saint Louis, would command the army. The object of the expedition was to enable Ferdinand VII. to deal with his people in absolute freedom. The Ultras were delighted, but Canning said to Laferronays in London, "You wish them to undertake a crusade for political theories. Do you not know that the British Constitution is the fruit of numerous victories, which subjects have gained over their rulers?" The British Press repeated the same sentiments. The assurance of British neutrality was expunged from the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament on February 4th, and the Spanish Ambassador, expelled from Paris, was received with acclamation in London.

Brougham and the "Three Gentlemen of Verona."

In Parliament, Lansdowne, Ellenborough and Mackintosh denounced the action of France, and even Lord Liverpool could not defend her. Brougham was very bitter about the "Three Gentlemen of Verona." The same views were supported in the French House of Peers by Talleyrand, Broglie, Dalberg and Molé—and in the Lower House by Foy, Sebastiani, Duvergier de Hauranne. Villèle let slip an expression which seemed to imply that he was afraid of the Eastern Powers. A similar debate arose when credit was asked for 100,000,000 francs. Chateaubriand's avowal that he wished to save Ferdinand from the fate of Charles I. and Louis XVI. was answered by Manuel, which caused a riot. Manuel was suspended from the Chamber on March 4th, and the whole of the Left followed him. Chateaubriand laughed at the farcical conduct of the Liberals, "who could not get together four chimney-sweeps to take part in a revolution." Attempts were made, however, to influence the French soldiers, notably by Paul Louis Courier and Béranger.

Fabvier, a bitter enemy of the Bourbons, took a stronger line.

He got together a corps of Italian refugees in London, strengthened by English Radicals. He went to Madrid and made a compact with the Ministers, receiving a promise of 4,000,000 reals. They laid it down that the cause of freedom was common to all men, and they would stand together in the conflict between the Cabinets and the peoples of Spain, Portugal, France and Italy. From Madrid, Fabvier went to Irun, and then to the corps of observation, where he tried to win some officers over to his side. Fabvier got together, on April 6th, a small number of Piedmontese and about 130 French, on the Spanish side of the Bidassoa. Here he unfolded the tricolour and sang the Marseillaise. But a few well-directed shots scattered his company, and next day the Duc d'Angoulême crossed the Bidassoa and entered Irun. Metternich was not pleased at the forward action of France; he did not desire to see the Cortes Constitution changed into a French *Charte* and would have preferred to abolish it altogether. On the other hand, Alexander was delighted, and began to form a corps of observation in Poland.

Canning's Protest.

Great Britain stood more decidedly aloof than ever. Canning declared his neutrality, but he also said that Great Britain must safeguard her own interests, and that she could not allow either the extension of the French frontiers, or the renewal of the Family Compact, or an intervention in Portugal. On April 14th he declared in Parliament that the invasion by France was a crime, and he wished with all his heart that the Spanish people might win. In Spain the Government and the Cortes removed from Madrid to Seville.

The French in Spain.

The French plan of campaign was to act rapidly, in order to avoid the danger of a guerilla rising among the people. The chief army, under the Duc d'Angoulême, was to press forward to Vittoria and seize the line of the Ebro. It was then to march by way of Burgos to Madrid, which was left in charge of the untrustworthy Abisbal. Marshal Moncey was to act in Catalonia against Mina, General Molitor in Navarre against Ballesteros. General Bourmont was to oppose Morello and Quiroga in Asturias and Galicia, where there was also a body of volunteers under Robert Wilson. Mina and Quiroga were the only two who were formidable. Angoulême took Vittoria and Burgos without any trouble, Ballesteros surrendered Saragossa and retired to Valencia, Morello waited for events, and Abisbal was corrupted by French gold. There was no sign of a guerilla rising. The French were welcomed by the nobles, the priests, and the monks, and other classes of the population. They were regarded as liberators. They paid for

everything they took, and in this respect were a great contrast to the " Army of Faith."

On May 15th Abisbal declared his adhesion to the recall of the King, the amendment of the Constitution, a change of ministry, and an amnesty. He was, however, accused of treachery, and sought safety in flight. The soldiers had to be withdrawn from the capital, and a capitulation was signed with Angoulême, who entered Madrid on May 24th. Before he crossed the frontier, Angoulême had issued a proclamation, declaring that the country would be governed by the Spanish authorities in the name of Ferdinand. A provisional Junta had been established, with Eguia at its head. This was now dissolved and a Regency put in its place. The Duc d'Infantado was made President, but it contained a number of clerics. Reaction took place; the religious Orders were restored as they had been before March 7th, 1820, and the Jesuits were recalled. This was very unpleasant, both to Angoulême and Villèle, who were in favour of moderate measures and opposed to the restoration of absolute monarchy. At the same time, the policy found favour with Chateaubriand, the Comte d'Artois, and the Ultras generally, as well as probably the three Eastern Powers. **Royalist Reaction.**

The King of Naples, stirred up by Metternich, now began to press his claims as the next heir to the Spanish throne. He had protested against the provisional Junta under Eguia; he now protested against the Regency. Metternich was afraid the French Government would capitulate to the Revolution. However, the personality of the King of Naples was too contemptible to arouse enthusiasm, and the Regency was recognised by the three Powers, but new ambassadors were sent to Madrid, including Talaru for France. The Regency continued the policy of a White Terror. They allowed the eastern bandits, who bore the name of the " Royal Volunteers," to plunder, steal and to imprison Liberals as they pleased. San Miguel, on his retirement from the Ministry, went to the camp of Mina, and his place was taken by Calatrava. The Cortes, now at Seville, determined to retire behind the walls of Cadiz, the birthplace of the Constitution and the revolution. They persuaded the King, with great difficulty, to accompany them, only prevailing by threats of revolution. **The King of Naples' Claim.**

Immediately on their departure, on June 12th, the Serviles broke out with cries of " Long live the Absolute King! Long live the Inquisition!" However, their reign was short-lived, for on June 21st the French entered the town. The White Terror still raged in the provinces. In Cuenca, Bessières arrested the members of the Cortes and the provisional Junta, and three hundred persons

were imprisoned in Valladolid. In Saragossa the houses of the Blacks, or Liberals, were stripped of everything. Bandits and fanatical monks wandered about as defenders of throne and altar. Angoulême and the French garrison repressed these excesses at Madrid, but they were encouraged by the Regency. On June 22nd the Regency issued a decree which condemned, with confiscation of property, all the members of the Cortes who had taken part in the removal of the Court to Cadiz, and on July 29th they deprived all Spaniards who had served in the militia of their pay, their pensions and their decorations.

The Ordinance of Andujar.

Angoulême fixed his headquarters in Andalusia at the end of July. Morello capitulated at Lugo on July 10th, Ballesteros on July 28th. They were promised freedom from persecution and a safe return. These conditions were not observed, and Angoulême, losing patience, issued an ordinance from Andujar on August 8th, which forbade the Spanish authorities to imprison anyone without the consent of the French commanders. All political prisoners were to be liberated and a censorship of the Press was established. The Regency was furious at this step and threatened to dismiss Oudinot, the Commandant of Madrid, if he published the ordinance. The ambassadors showed themselves very weak. Chateaubriand wrote to Talaru: "Before the world you must support everything that is done by the French Government, but you must secretly endeavour to smooth everything over."

As a fact, the Ordinance of Andujar was never published in Madrid, and produced little effect elsewhere. An address was sent from Navarre to the Regency, saying that they would rather turn Spain into a field of corpses than suffer the shame of a foreign yoke. Angoulême came to the conclusion that it was impossible to do any good in Spain, and modification of the Constitution of 1812 was not to be thought of. He wrote on August 3rd: "Whatever we may do, absolutism will always triumph. The bitterness between parties is too great for it to be otherwise." Talaru wrote: "We may stir the surface of Spain with the modern ideas of Europe, but beneath are the people in whom it has been the same ever since the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. We may change old institutions, but the new will never take root."

The King Released.

On August 17th Angoulême sent a despatch from his headquarters at Santa Maria, near Cadiz, recommending Ferdinand, in the name of Louis XVIII., to grant an amnesty and to recall the old Cortes, and at the same time to tell the Cortes that unless the King were set free within five days he would attack the town. Answer was returned that the freedom of the King was only limited

by the pressure of the French army, and that the restoration of a Cortes which had not met for three hundred years was compatible neither with the honour of the Crown nor the welfare of the people. The fort of Trocadero was stormed on the night of the 30th–31st August, and the French became masters of the Island of Saint Luis. On September 28th the King was set free and allowed to go to the French headquarters, to make what terms he could. Before he went he promised, with his free will and on the pledge of his kingly word, a general and complete amnesty, without exception, recognition of the debts of the constitutional governments, maintenance of the rank of officers, protection of the militia against persecution, and, further, if the present form of government should be altered, a Constitution which should secure to Spaniards their freedom and property. On October 1st he sailed across the bay to Puerto de Santa Maria. Here he was met by Angoulême and Talaru, the Duc d'Infantado, Saez, a number of Royal Volunteers and monks, and a crowd of the populace, who cried out, "Long live the Absolute King!"

Ferdinand's Return to Power.

Ferdinand paid little attention to Angoulême, but devoted himself to his confessor, Saez, who was made universal minister. Decrees were issued which annulled all laws, treaties, and proceedings of the so-called constitutional government. Next day Angoulême pressed him for moderate measures and a generous amnesty, but he replied, "We will see; the popular opinion is for absolute government." Ferdinand now went to Jeres. Here he banished all Spaniards who had sat in the Cortes after the reception of the Constitution, or had held an important office, or had been officers in the militia. Never in their lives were they to come within fifteen miles of Madrid or any other Royal residence. The Liberals took to flight *en masse*. Argüelles, Galliano, Isturiz, Calatrava, Quiroga, Alava, and many others withdrew to England. Even Chateaubriand was terrified and saw that Spain would fall back into anarchy unless the reaction were checked. He threatened to withdraw the French troops across the Ebro, and reminded the King that he owed the French 30,000,000 francs. Louis XVIII. wrote to Ferdinand solemn words of warning, and even the ambassadors of the three Powers took fright. The war was at an end and Angoulême returned to France.

Riego was executed on November 7th. The King and Queen entered Madrid on November 13th, but there was no mention either of reform or of amnesty. A slight improvement was effected by the dismissal of Saez and the appointment of Casa Trujo as Minister of Foreign Affairs on December 2nd. In the beginning

of 1824 treaties were signed with France which secured the presence of a force of 45,000 men under General Bourmont; but the country was, as Chateaubriand confessed, given up to complete anarchy.

Such was the result of an armed intervention intended to fight the anarchy of the revolution in the name of Legitimacy. It had succeeded in overthrowing a weak and tottering form of government, without establishing in the country the firm foundations of prosperity, morality, or enlightenment. It had not prevented the return of a wilful absolutism, which favoured the stupidity and superstition of the masses. All hopes of reform on ancient lines were idle; a thoroughly Bourbon throne was again restored. Still, the Eastern Powers regarded the fall of the Cortes as a triumph for the thrones of Europe, a triumph which was not desecrated by any limitation of the authority of the King.

The Position in Portugal.

The fortunes of Portugal were profoundly influenced by those of Spain. The Constitution, which dated from September 23rd, 1822, was incomplete, and did not serve to improve the moral and physical conditions of the people. The number of murders continued to be very large. Desertions from the army were frequent, and the budget of 1822 showed a large deficit. The authors of the Constitution were bitterly disappointed at the defection of Brazil; they had hoped it would serve to unite the colonies with the mother country. The Regent Dom Pedro became Emperor, his father having, on his departure from Brazil, advised him to take the crown for himself if he could not succeed in keeping it for him. His accession to the crown and the independence of Brazil date from October 12th, 1822. In Portugal, the nobles and the clergy were bitter enemies of the Constitution. The clergy were enraged at the suppression of the Patriarchate and the secularisation of the monasteries. In the army many of the officers were jealous of Sepulveda, and disorders among the soldiers took place in Lisbon amidst cries of "Down with the Constitution!"

Banishment of Queen Carlota.

The Corcundas, or "Hump-backed," the counterpart of the Spanish Serviles, found their support in Ferdinand's sister, Queen Carlota, wife of King John VI. Her palace of Queluz was a centre of discontent, and her hopes were placed on Dom Miguel, her second son. He, indeed, took the oath to the Constitution, but the Queen refused to do so. She might have been expelled from the country, but she was banished instead to the remote palace of Ramalhao. There she lived in a state of penance, praying for her misguided country and receiving secret visits from Dom Miguel. The Liberals were most irritated by the conduct of the Eastern

Powers. They disapproved of the intervention of Austria in Naples, and of the attitude of France towards Spain. They even conceived the idea of making an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain against France, and only gave up the idea in consequence of the opposition of Canning. They disagreed with the resolutions of the Congress of Verona. When *William Tell* was performed at the Opera, a lieutenant-colonel cried from his box, "May all the tyrants of Europe be brought to destruction!" The army was mobilised, the Liberal journals denounced the Holy Alliance, and the clubs clamoured for war to the knife against the despots.

Revolutionary Movements in Portugal.

On the other side, Count Amarante carried the province Tras os Montes against the constitutional government in February, 1823, and he was joined by his uncle Silveira. A Regency was formed, similar to that of Seo de Urgel, with the Archbishop of Burgos at its head. The insurrection was put down by the Government, and Amarante and Silveira took refuge in Spain, where they attached themselves to Angoulême and the Royalists. The counter-revolution was strengthened by the success of the French arms in Spain. A party of Moderates arose in the Cortes, who supported a change in the Constitution, the establishment of the King's veto and of the bicameral system. But their leader, Fernandez Thomaz, died, and there was no one to keep the Exaltados in check.

Dom Miguel as Revolutionist.

Pepe, who had fled from Naples, was now in Portugal, and he promised the Portuguese that, if they could secure the assistance of Spain, he would endeavour to bring about a rising in his own country. The entry of the French troops into Madrid stirred the reactionary party to more energetic measures. Amarante returned to Lisbon, and Rego, who had conquered him, was deprived of his command for negligence. Colonel Sampayo, who was distrusted by the Liberals, was dismissed on May 27th, 1823. But he was supported by the regiment which he commanded, and declared for the absolute monarchy, with an amnesty and something of a constitution. He was soon joined by Dom Miguel, who wrote to his father that he could no longer put up with the degradation of the throne, and believed that he was serving him by setting the nation free. The Cortes placed Sepulveda at the head of the army; but, fearing for his life, he left Lisbon on May 29th and joined Dom Miguel. Almost the whole of the garrison followed him, with bands playing and banners flying.

The last hope of the Cortes lay in the King, who issued a proclamation threatening his rebellious son with condign punishment. But the cavalry regiment which Sepulveda had left behind

to guard the palace declared for the counter-revolution, crying, "Down with the Constitution!" forced the terrified King to enter his carriage, and carried him off to Dom Miguel's headquarters in Villafranca de Xira. From this place the King was forced to issue another proclamation, in which he denounced the Constitution as the fountain of anarchy, civil war, and the dissolution of the Empire, and promised political arrangements of a more salutary character. The government of the Cortes was at an end, and ministers resigned their places. The prominent Liberals sought refuge on board an English vessel, and Pepe followed their example. The sittings of the Cortes were suspended on June 2nd.

Triumph of the Counter-Revolution.

It is possible that the Corcundas originally wished to establish a regency for Queen Carlota, but that was made impossible by the King separating himself from the Cortes, which was probably the action of Sepulveda. At the same time, John VI. was joined by so many Moderates that he could not assume absolute power. In a proclamation of June 3rd he promised a Constitution which should be free from all principles incompatible with the peaceful existence of the Government. He entered Lisbon on June 5th, Dom Miguel riding proudly before him. The counter-revolution had triumphed in Portugal even before it had succeeded in Spain. This was due to the French intervention in that country. Hyde de Neuville, French Ambassador at Lisbon, favoured the sending of Portuguese ships to take part in the blockade of Cadiz, and Portuguese troops to assist in the siege of Badajoz.

These plans were crushed by the appearance of a British squadron in the Tagus. But the success of Angoulême was joyfully celebrated at Lisbon, and when the ambassador of Ferdinand arrived there John VI. spoke to him of the power of the Divine blessing which had rescued both countries from an evil influence. The supporters of Legitimacy felt that they had triumphed over the revolution, now for ever discredited. The victory of the reaction in Portugal was not marked by the excesses which branded it in Spain. At the same time the reactionary party was not idle. All who during the last two years had been prominent on the Liberal side were banished or imprisoned or deprived of their offices. Even Sepulveda was attacked, whereas Silveira, Amarante and Sampayo were richly rewarded. The freedom of the Press was abolished, the Patriarchate was restored, and the monasteries were re-endowed. All civil and military officials had to sign an undertaking that they would not belong to any secret society, such as the Freemasons or the Carbonari, but punishment in case

of infringement, instead of death, was banishment to Africa or a heavy fine.

Portugal's Constitution.

On June 18th, 1823, shortly after the entry of John VI. into Lisbon, a Junta had been appointed, under the presidency of Palmella, Minister of Foreign Affairs, for the discussion of a constitution which was to resemble the French *Charte* and reconcile the exercise of royal power with the security of popular rights. Nothing, however, was done, the movement being strongly opposed by Dom Miguel and the Queen. Spain warned Portugal not to set a bad example by renouncing the restoration of complete monarchical authority. The Eastern Powers did not desire that the French *Charte* should be imitated. They pointed out that there was no similarity between the condition of France in 1814 and the present position of Portugal. Even Hyde de Neuville was not in favour of transplanting to a southern soil the constitution of his own country, and his opinion was supported by Chateaubriand. Palmella lost confidence, and in 1824 it became clear that the only reform would be the restoration of the old Cortes of Estates.

The Queen and Dom Miguel were opposed even to this, and in the Ministry itself there were two parties, one headed by Palmella, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the other by Pamplona, Minister of War, who had received the title of Count Subserra. Palmella was devoted to Great Britain. In the summer of 1823 he had desired a landing of British troops in Portugal, and in the autumn of the same year he had worked for a British guarantee of the peace of Portugal, but both proved unattainable. However, a British fleet anchored in the Tagus, and Wellington advised Palmella to place Marshal Beresford, who had returned to the Tagus, at the head of the Portuguese army.

Murder of Loulé.

Subserra, on the other hand, took the side of France. He had fought under Napoleon in Spain and Russia, and had lived long in France. He detested the British, and declared that he would resign his office if Beresford entered the Portuguese service. He was regarded by the people as a traitor, but the King looked upon him with favour. Apparently he had defended him at Villafranca against the intrigues of Dom Miguel and the Queen. Yet, although they differed in these matters, Palmella and Subserra agreed as to the necessity of an amnesty and a policy of reconciliation. They were on the point of publishing an amnesty when a deed of violence rendered it impossible. On February 29th, 1824, the Marquis Loulé, a devoted friend of Subserra, was found murdered in the neighbourhood of the Palace of Salvaterra, where

the King was keeping carnival. On the walls of Lisbon one might have read, "Loulé is dead; Subserra will follow in a week." It is probable that the murder was instigated by Dom Miguel. The King, fearing Subserra would be the next victim, concluded that only Beresford was strong enough to command the army and to save the State. Beresford sought an audience of the King and accused Subserra of betraying the country to France.

Dom Miguel's Revolt.

This event was followed, on April 30th, 1824, by a rising of Dom Miguel. He called upon the army and the people to annihilate the devilish sect of the Freemasons, and told his father that he had resolved to summon the soldiers to arms. He placed his headquarters in the Rocio Square, and ordered the soldiers to assemble there. He arrested about two hundred persons, including Palmella and most of the Ministers, and blockaded the road to the King's palace, Bemposta. He was supported by the Patriarch, and the Queen arrived from Queluz. The plan was to murder Subserra and force the King to abdicate. Subserra sought refuge in the house of Hyde de Neuville, who contrived to reach the King, who summoned Dom Miguel to his presence. Here he told wonderful stories of a far-reaching conspiracy, but he was persuaded to dismiss the troops and release Palmella. The King appeared on the balcony of the palace and was received with acclamation, and the city was illuminated. But it was easier to arouse the storm than to allay it, and terror reigned in Lisbon. The King issued a decree on May 3rd, in which he excused the action of his son; but on May 9th the latter sought refuge on an English frigate, the *Windsor Castle*, where he met Beresford, the ambassadors, Palmella and Subserra. Dom Miguel was deprived of his command, and the prisoners who filled the jails were liberated. Lisbon breathed once more. Dom Miguel threw himself at his father's feet and asked for forgiveness, and on May 13th went on his travels. It was not so easy to get rid of Queen Carlota, the cause of all the mischief, even though her brother Ferdinand advised her to submit. She went to bed and refused to stir.

British and French Influence in Portugal.

Palmella and Subserra were now able to resume their work of atonement. On July 5th they issued a decree of amnesty, and another decree, dated the same day, established the old Cortes of Estates. This was opposed by the ambassadors of the Powers, who feared even the moderate instalment of self-government, and the summoning of the Cortes was deferred to the Greek Kalends. The struggle between France and Great Britain for the mastery of Portugal continued. Beresford was found intolerable, and had to leave the country. Wellington wished to protect the King with

a body of 2,000 Hanoverians, but this was prevented by the jealousy of the French. Then followed a change in the British representation. Thornton, who was thought to be too submissive to French influence, was recalled, and the more energetic A'Court established in his place. A'Court worked to upset Subserra, who lost powerful support by the recall of Hyde de Neuville at the beginning of 1825. Subserra was accused before the King of having plundered the public treasury. A'Court promised to protect John VI. against any movement of Dom Miguel, and on January 15th, 1825, the Ministry of Subserra came to an end.

Independence of Brazil.

By this time Dom Pedro had established himself as Emperor of Brazil. The independence of that country was warmly supported by Canning and strongly opposed by Subserra. This was, indeed, the cause of the latter's fall. A'Court said, "We must make up our minds whether Count Subserra is to prevail over the interests of two worlds." A treaty was eventually signed on August 29th, 1825, by the offices of Sir Charles Stewart, who was sent by Canning to Lisbon and Rio, which determined the independence of Brazil. A treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Brazil, which abolished the slave trade, was drawn up but was not ratified till 1827. By this arrangement the financial condition of Portugal was greatly improved, and Brazil took over a portion of the Portuguese debt. Commerce began to revive; the troops received their pay and the civil servants their salaries; the Finance Minister was enabled to discover new sources of income; and the game laws were subjected to a commission of inquiry. All this tended to diminish the evil effects of the counter-revolution, the course of which in Spain, Italy and France was not so fortunate.

CHAPTER XII

THE CARNIVAL OF REACTION ON THE CONTINENT

"The Apostolical."

IN Spain the reaction went much farther than in Portugal. A party called "the Apostolical" made its appearance, consisting of extreme Ultras. Under their influence Calomarde was appointed Minister of Justice, and they terrified the King by threatening to raise his brother, Don Carlos, to the throne. The Eastern Powers tried in vain to stop their excesses. Their work having been done, they found themselves neglected and put aside. Chateaubriand's advice to Talaru to behave as if he were King of Spain was mere idle talk. When Pozzo attempted to accentuate the influence of Russia he roused the jealousy of Austria, and Metternich complained of his childish vanity. Talaru quarrelled with Bourmont, who commanded the French army of occupation and favoured the Apostolicals. The general had to be recalled, and relations became less strained. The act of amnesty, promised to the Powers, was delayed, and Talaru was obliged to threaten the withdrawal of the army of occupation before it was issued. When it appeared on May 20th, 1824, it contained so many exceptions as to be almost a nullity; indeed, it afforded pretext for fresh persecutions. But even the very name of amnesty excited the wrath of the Apostolicals. In Aragon the guerillero Capapé called his associates to arms, in order to liberate the King from the hands of the Freemasons and the French.

The Terrorising of Spain.

Acting under the advice of Calomarde, the King continued the system of terror. A certain number of Liberal refugees, setting out from Gibraltar, had taken the town of Tarifa, which they held for a fortnight, until it was captured by the French. About a hundred of these insurgents were either shot or hanged. De la Cruz, the Minister of War, who was hated by the Apostolicals, was arrested one night and imprisoned, and was succeeded by the bloodthirsty General Aimerich. A new Intendant of Police devoted his energies to the extirpation of the Liberals. Every instrument of terror was put into practice, including domiciliary visits. One man, who was in possession of a portrait of Riego, was sentenced to imprisonment for ten years in an African fortress. A man who, when drunk, exclaimed "Long live the Constitution!" was

condemned to death. Freemasons and Communeros paid the penalty of their opinions with their lives. It is impossible to estimate the total victims of the White Terror, but it is reckoned that in Catalonia alone, up to the autumn of 1825, 1,800 officers and soldiers of the Constitutional army fell victims to the fury of the populace. The allied Powers found themselves again impotent. They talked of withdrawing the French army of occupation. Some improvement was effected by the resignation of Ugarte in March, 1825, who was appointed ambassador at Turin, and Zea Bermudez, who had been ambassador in London, and became Prime Minister in July, 1824, now began to do some good.

A Benighted Country.

It was not till June, 1825, that matters showed signs of improvement. Aimerich was dismissed, and his place taken by a more moderate successor. An attempt of the Apostolicals to excite disturbances with the assistance of Bessières proved a failure. The risings were put down, and Bessières himself was shot. But Zea Bermudez could only maintain his position till October, 1825, when he was succeeded by the Duc d'Infantado. The financial condition of the country was deplorable. Public security could scarcely be said to exist, and travellers were obliged to bribe the brigands in order that they might journey in safety. The education of bull-fighters was thought more important than that of scholars. The possession and importation of books and drawings without the permission of the authorities was forbidden, corporal punishment being inflicted for any breach of this regulation. Only two newspapers were allowed to publish political news, and English and French newspapers were stopped on the frontier. The army and navy could not be said to exist. A decree of March 18th, 1825, fixed the peace establishment at 100,000 infantry and 18,000 cavalry; but the men existed only on paper, and if they had been mustered there would have been no money to pay them. In their place was a body of "Royal Volunteers," a horde of fanatics without discipline, whose number was estimated at 200,000. The navy possessed 600 officers, for the most part unfit for service. Of the three ships of the line, one dated from 1755 and another from 1771. A frigate was launched in 1826, but her timbers were so rotten as to make her unseaworthy.

As to the South American colonies that had been entirely lost to Spain, the allies of Verona had intended to plant the banner of Legitimacy in the New World. Chateaubriand dreamed of establishing two monarchies in that continent, and the Eastern Powers were not reluctant to assist him; but Canning, speaking with the

voice of England, positively refused. He had already supplied the colonies with British consuls to protect British commerce, and in October, 1823, had informed Polignac, the French Ambassador, that any intervention in the quarrel between Spain and her colonies would hasten the recognition of the latter by Great Britain, and that it was a matter of indifference to his cabinet whether they were governed as republics or as monarchies. The famous message of the American President, Monroe, delivered at the opening of Congress on December 2nd, 1823, declared that any attempt of the Allies to extend their system to any part of America would be regarded as a menace to France and to the security of the United States.

Freedom for Spanish Colonies.

Canning declined to take part in a conference of the Great Powers, held at Paris on December 26th, 1823, to consider the affairs of the revolted colonies, and pursued the same policy in February, 1824. Chateaubriand asked, with reason, whether the continental Powers would be willing to draw the sword if Great Britain declared for the independence of the colonies and allied herself for that object with the United States. Whilst an expedition was preparing in Madrid to sail from Cuba to reduce the so-called rebels, an announcement was made by the British Cabinet, on January 1st, 1825, which recognised the independence of Buenos Ayres, Colombia and Mexico. It was the answer to the treaty between France and Spain which extended the French occupation for an unlimited period. Canning said that he had called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. There was nothing left for Spain and the Allies but to vent their indignation in useless complaints.

In France there was but little sympathy for the Spanish colonies, even amongst the Royalists. The public mind was so fully occupied with the success of the military promenade from Irun to Cadiz that it could think of nothing else. The throne of the Bourbons seemed to be finally established by the triumph of the army. The Ultras were naturally in high spirits. A mild form of White Terror made its appearance, and some spoke of sending the *Charte* to keep company with the Cortes. All this increased the unpopularity of Villèle, who was made responsible for the recall of the Duc de Belluno, the darling of the Ultras, who were not appeased by the appointment of his successor, the Baron de Damas, a returned *émigré*. The Chambers, which hitherto had been subject to only partial renewal, were dissolved on December 24th, 1823, and the new elections resulted in a wholesale defeat of the Liberals. They numbered, together with the

Left Centre, only nineteen, Lafayette and Manuel being among the victims. The Government had used every device to secure a victory, recommendation, intimidation of officials, falsification of electoral lists. The bishops had been no less active than the ministers and prefects. The *Chambre introuvable* was at last *retrouvée*. But the *Quotidienne* declared that the work of Royalists was not complete; it was only beginning.

Fall of Chateaubriand.

The Chambers were opened by the King in person on March 23rd, 1824. He spoke of the extension of the life of the Parliament to seven years, and the reduction of the interest of the public debt. The last measure met with unexpected opposition from small investors, but was easily carried by the large majority of the Government, only, however, to be rejected by the Peers. Though this was a serious blow to Villèle, he had no thoughts of retiring. One result of this was the dismissal of Chateaubriand on June 6th, as he was suspected of treachery to his colleagues, in the matter of the conversion of the Rentes. His own memoirs show that he was no statesman. He was vainly proud of having effected in Spain in six months what Napoleon had not been able to accomplish in seven years. In revenge he now threw himself into the Opposition and converted the *Journal des Débats*, which had hitherto supported Villèle, into a powerful instrument of attack. His fall was not altogether displeasing to Metternich, but Alexander remembered with sympathy his service to the Holy Alliance. The entire renewal of the Chambers every seven years was carried, although some sharp-sighted Ultras perceived that it was a weapon which was likely to be used against them. The session was closed on August 4th.

Death of Louis XVIII.

General Damas was made Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Frayssinous, Bishop of Hermopolis, Minister of Religion and Education. But Villèle had undoubtedly lost in prestige, if not in power, by the withdrawal of Chateaubriand. The Duc de Broglie said that the Ministry had, with the loss of its poet, lost all its brilliancy. A still greater change was at hand. On September 16th, 1824, Louis XVIII. died. He had long suffered from gout and with difficulty performed the necessary duties of his position. The Comte d'Artois ascended the throne as Charles X., and the government of the Pavillon Marsan became the legitimate Government of the State.

Trial of Confalonieri.

French intervention in Spain had but little effect on the fortunes of Italy. Reaction had preceded it, and the Austrians, who were chiefly responsible for it, acted in a double capacity, as representatives of the great European Powers and as lords of

the Lombard and Venetian kingdoms. The trial of Confalonieri and his associates for participation in the revolt in Piedmont lasted for two years and a quarter, during which time the accused were detained in prison. At last Confalonieri and six others were condemned to death. By the favour of the Emperor this was commuted to imprisonment for life. On January 21st, 1824, in the bitter cold of winter, they were publicly exposed with chains on their hands and feet, and then conveyed to their prison in the fortress of Spielberg. As they passed through Vienna, Metternich paid Confalonieri a visit, in which he endeavoured to ascertain what were the relations between Lombardy and the Prince of Carignan. Confalonieri was promised favourable treatment if he would give the information which Metternich desired. The offer was refused and the prisoners continued their route to Spielberg. Here they were confined in grave-like cells, badly fed, kept for months without light or books, occupied in knitting stockings or in making lint, and attended by a confessor who played the part of a spy. Silvio Pellico has left us a description of their tortures in his book, "Le Mie Prigione." The published records of the trial were falsified, and when the Emperor visited Milan in May, 1825, he was led to believe that he ruled over a satisfied and contented population.

King Francis I. of Naples.

In Naples, Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies, died on January 4th, 1825, and was succeeded by Francis I., who, as Crown Prince, had excited hopes of a better reign. As King, he continued the system of his father. The nobles were given up to frivolous amusement, and the middle classes were kept under by police supervision and monkish education. The deficit in the public revenue could not be made good even by the most oppressive taxes, and the interest of the public debt was increased more than threefold. With the new reign the Austrian troops were, to a great measure, withdrawn from Naples, but their place was occupied by Swiss mercenaries, and the retiring troops were kept as a menace in Lombardy and Venetia. The Emperor informed the King that he would permit no change in the Constitution of Naples.

Government of the Smaller States.

Of the smaller Italian States Lucca was ruled over by Charles Louis, who had succeeded his mother in 1824 and showed himself submissive to Austria. The Duchess of Parma was Marie Louise, the widow of Napoleon; but the government was in the hands of her husband, Count Neipperg, till his death in 1827. He used his powers, on the whole, wisely and moderately. The Duke of Modena, on the other hand, exhibited all the faults of a

tyrannous and ruthless reactionary. He made himself notorious by a Press censorship which rivalled that of Naples, and by a system of secret police directed against political agitators. He was especially suspicious of Tuscany, where, after the failure of the Neapolitan Revolution, Poerio, Colletta and Borelli had found a refuge. Vieusseux's famous reading-room remained a meeting-place for patriots, and his journal, the *Antologia*, gave hospitality to their writings. The Grand Duke Leopold II., who succeeded his father in 1824, tolerated this exhibition of Liberalism and followed the traditions of his house in looking after the material interests of his country. His budget actually showed a surplus of 3,000,000 lire in 1828, and he was able to begin the work of draining the Maremma. He was seconded by his Prime Minister, Fossombroni, who did his best to protect himself against Austrian interference.

Reactionary Tendencies of the Papacy.

In Rome Pius VII. died on August 20th, 1823. Against the wish of Metternich, Cardinal Della Genga, one of the party of the Zelanti and an adherent of Consalvi, was elected in his place and took the name of Leo XII. Consalvi retired, and was succeeded by Cardinal Somaglia, another of the Zelanti. The new Pope and his minister exhibited reactionary tendencies, favouring the civil power of the bishops and the nobles. The Jews were not allowed to hold property, were subjected again to the Inquisition, and were shut up in the Ghetto after dark. Compulsory vaccination was abolished; street lighting was done away with in the provinces as a "French invention," and only sanctioned in Rome because of the presence of foreigners; education was placed under a congregation of cardinals.

It is on record that the cardinals refused to receive a present of astronomical and physical apparatus, saying, "The Psalms inform us that the heavens are telling of the glory of God, and not these miserable instruments." Not less remarkable was their zeal for the improvement of public morality. An army of spies and informers watched over the life of the Romans. Taverns were closed, women were ordered to wear a prescribed dress, and innkeepers were forbidden to serve more than a certain quantity of wine. It was the desire of the Pope that the Jubilee of 1825 should be held in a city devoted to the practice of piety and free from every kind of fleshly lust. But these ecclesiastical regulations of civic life naturally produced the effect the Holy Father was anxious to avoid. Bunsen, who had succeeded Niebuhr as German Ambassador, reports that Rome was one of the most immoral cities in Europe, and that the

students in a church procession sang filthy songs instead of Litanies.

Leo XII.'s Unpopularity.

The Pope was well meaning, but pursued the wrong way to attain his ends. He visited the hospitals and supervised the attendance on the sick. He paid the debts of debtors out of his own purse, and released them from prison; he established a Board to superintend the civil servants, but this merely led to the increase of informers and the satisfaction of private vengeance. He placed a protective duty on foreign manufactures with a view to encouraging home industries, but this only had the effect of making foreign products dearer than before. The laity were discontented with the favours shown to clerical government and to the great families such as the Borghese, the Barberini, and the Rospigliosi, and declined to acknowledge their restored feudal rights, as these placed them in a worse position than ever. At the same time the finances were well administered.

But good intentions do not make wise laws. The Pope gradually became more and more unpopular, by the mediæval character of his government, the monkish regulation of everyday life, and the increasing power of the priesthood. The Legations and the Marches became hotbeds of political sects, where the Carbonari and the Sanfedisti watched each other with jealous hatred, and where the strife of parties sharpened the dagger of the assassin. Cardinal Rivarola was sent to Ravenna in 1824 with the mission of annihilating the Carbonari, and officials, shopkeepers, lawyers, writers, artisans were arrested in large numbers and thrown into prison. They were tried with closed doors, without witnesses or defence. Only two were condemned to death, but the sentences of imprisonment affected many families in the province. Monasteries were turned into prisons, and the sight of victims hanging on gallows for three or four days shocked and edified the Ravennese. Yet, despite these atrocities and gruesome spectacles, the Carbonari continued to flourish as vigorously as ever.

Sardinia's Advance.

Charles Felix, King of Sardinia, although he belonged to the party of reaction, was more successful. His country was free from political agitation. He paid great attention to his navy, spent most of his time in Genoa, and when the Emperor Francis and Metternich visited him there in the spring of 1825, they could congratulate him on his excellent government. This was perhaps due to the hopes which were cherished of his successor, Prince Charles Albert of Carignan, who was now reconciled to his cousin, had taken part in the French expedition to Spain and borne himself bravely in the storming of the Trocadero. This went some

way to alter the opinion of Metternich with respect to him. He was present at the interview at Genoa, when the Emperor spoke to the Prince like a father, and Metternich gave him plenty of good advice. Metternich wrote to St. Petersburg that the young Prince was preparing a happy future for himself and his people.

Indeed, Metternich had reason to regard the condition of Italy as satisfactory. He saw the Revolution annihilated in the north, and not likely to raise its head again in the south. Austria was strong enough to deal with it in either place. She was allowed by treaty to garrison Piacenza, to secure the surrender of deserters, and to make arrangements about ports and smuggling. No foreign Power, not even France, could cross her plains. The Italians seemed to have forgotten their dreams of national unity and even of constitutional freedom, and the champions of their dreams were spending their lives in the misery of exile or in the darkness of a prison.

CHAPTER XIII

GREECE, 1822-5

Unity of Greek Leaders.

IN the spring of 1822 the condition of Greece appeared to be desperate, and after the Battle of Peta nearly the whole of western Hellas lay open to the enemy. Mavrocordatos with difficulty collected a few hundred armed men behind the lagoons and entrenchments of Mesolonghi. Eastern Hellas was terrified at the destructive march of Dramali into the Morea, and Odysseus in Athens had difficulty in raising the courage of his countrymen. When the Greek Government fled on shipboard and Dramali advanced into Argolis everything seemed to be lost. There, however, disaster had brought concord into Grecian councils. Demetrius Ypsilanti, Kolokotronis and Petrobey became friends. Ypsilanti, made President of the legislative body, inspired the people with something of his own courage. He fortified the citadel of Argos and held it against Dramali till August. Kolokotronis summoned old and young to the seashore south of Argos. The Turks, in the burning and barren plain of the Inachos, had no provisions, and the ships that were to relieve them did not appear.

The War Renewed.

Dramali thought of retreating to Corinth and opened negotiations with Kolokotronis, who, however, was not to be deceived. Eventually the former was forced to retire to Corinth with considerable loss, and the Morea was preserved. In Corinth he was besieged by Kolokotronis and his connections with Nauplia, Patras and Megara were cut off. The Turkish fleet, commanded by a new Kapudan Pasha, Kara Mehmed, did not appear till September, and then it durst not approach the garrison of Nauplia from fear of the Greek fireships. It retired to the Bay of Suda in Crete, and by and by sailed to the Dardanelles. Kanaris followed it on November 10th and burned the vice-admiral's ship, and Kara Mehmed sought safety in the Sea of Marmora.

On land the Turks were not more successful. Mehmed Kiuse was sent from Thessaly by Churchit with 12,000 men to force his way to the Isthmus. He reached Salona on November 13th, and dispersed the garrison of Odysseus, but he allowed himself to be deceived by the offers of an armistice, which weakened the fidelity of the Albanians, who were eager for plunder. At this moment

Churchit, the conqueror of Janina, died. Mehmed hastened back to Larissa, and his troops took up their winter quarters at Zituni. Shortly after this the Turks were compelled to raise the siege of Mesolonghi. Ships from Hydra broke through the blockade of the Pasha of Patra and landed reinforcements. The Klephts rose in the rear of the Turks, cut off their supplies, and threatened their communications. An assault which the Turks attempted during the Christmas festivities was repulsed. At last, on January 12th, 1823, the commander, Omer Brionis, raised the siege. He suffered considerable loss in the retreat to Epirus, four hundred soldiers being drowned in the Aspropotamo. The defeat of Peta was avenged, and Acarnania and Aetolia were again free.

Further Quarrels.

On the side of Greece the garrison of Nauplia was compelled to surrender on December 13th, 1822; but even before this Dramali had died of fever at Corinth, and his army had been almost annihilated. In this manner the great Turkish campaign of 1822 came to an inglorious end. But success was not favourable to the Greeks. Disaster had healed their differences; triumph was soon to open them again. The pride of the Greek generals was aroused by their successes, and they looked with contempt upon the Government which had disgraced itself by cowardice. The National Assembly, repulsed from Nauplia by Plaputas, the brother-in-law of Kolokotronis, met at Astros, in March, 1823, about three hundred in number. It contained deputies from Thessaly, Crete, and more distant islands, but many came on their own authority, while others complied with the mandate of 1821. A profound discussion between the civil and the military parties ensued, and the Assembly sat till May 10th. Petrobey, chosen President of the Executive Council, was supported by Andreas Zaimis, Charalampis and Count Andrea Metaxas. Mavrocordatos was made first Minister of Foreign Affairs, but Ypsilanti was neglected. The fifth place in the Government and the Vice-Presidency was offered to Kolokotronis, but he refused to receive it out of jealousy of Mavrocordatos. The executive quarrelled with the legislative, town with town, and family with family. This did not give great hopes for the campaign of 1823, but the Greeks were saved by the inefficiency of their enemies. The Kapudan Pasha, the lame Chosrev, at the head of a large fleet, contented himself with landing a few thousand men in Euboea, provisioning some places on the coast of the Morea, and leaving a few ships in Patras. At the approach of winter he sailed back to the Dardanelles, having accomplished nothing to hasten the fall of Mesolonghi.

The Turks Retreat.

This town was again attacked by Omer Brionis and the Pasha of Skodra, and was defended by the Suliote hero, Markos Botsaris, who fell at Karpenisi on August 21st, 1823. The Turks determined to lay siege to Anatoliko before they attacked Mesolonghi, but this they were unable to do. The water was too shallow for the Turkish ships, and the town was defended by the English Philhellene, Martin, who was an accomplished gunner. A cistern, discovered by the explosion of a bomb, supplied the garrison with water. The marsh fever made its appearance, the besieging leaders quarrelled among themselves, and the pashas retreated after burying their guns. Thus Mavrocordatos, arriving from Hydra in December, found the work of liberation nearly accomplished. The operations in the east under Odysseus were less picturesque, but he succeeded in capturing Acrocorinthus from the Turkish garrison in November. At the same time the quarrel between the civil and military authorities continued, and Panos, the son of Kolokotronis, drove the legislature out of Argos on December 10th. The members met again at Kranidhi, and chose George Konduriottis, a rich merchant of Hydra, as head of the executive; but its most important member was Doctor Kolettis, who had been educated in European universities. He had been in the service of Ali Pasha at Janina, and had there become acquainted with the Armistice of Rumelia, which he designed to make the nucleus of a new and more stable government.

Civil War in Greece.

The difference between the factions in Greece developed into civil war. Kolokotronis would not recognise the Government of Kranidhi. He established the old executive committee at Tripolitza, and ordered elections for a new legislative assembly. But Kranidhi depended on the islanders, the most powerful primates of the Morea, and on the armed Rumeliots. Panos Kolokotronis was shut up in Nauplia, and Acrocorinthus was surrendered by treachery. Then Kolokotronis, the father, lost a battle at Tripolitza and was obliged to leave the town. A large sum of money to assist the Greeks had been subscribed at the Mansion House in London, and of this £800,000 had reached Zante. The desire to obtain some of this money, which was intended for the Kranidhi faction, hastened the fall of Kolokotronis. Panos surrendered Nauplia on June 19th for 25,000 piastres. The Government took possession of it and proclaimed a general amnesty. No sooner was this quarrel appeased than a second civil war broke out which, however, ended in the victory of the Government, directed by the prudent Kolettis. His hands were strengthened by a further instalment of £200,000 from England. Mavrocordatos,

who had been engaged in Acarnania and Ætolia, now accepted the post of Prime Minister at Nauplia.

Tragic End of Odysseus.

The end of Odysseus was very tragic. He had an enmity of old standing with Kolettis, and always worked rather for his own interests than for those of the cause. During the first civil war he had played a waiting game. He summoned an Eastern Hellenic Parliament to Salona, and secured the co-operation of Negris, who joined him out of a common hatred of Kolettis. Negris, however, died in December, 1824, and Odysseus, finding himself neglected, became a traitor. He entered into negotiations with a Turkish pasha in Euboea, and placed himself at the head of an army of Klephts and Turks in Attica and Boeotia. Here he was defeated and taken prisoner, and brought in chains to Athens, where he was nearly stoned to death by the populace. He was imprisoned in a tower in the Acropolis, and was found dead at the foot of it on July 17th, 1825. Whether he had been strangled and then thrown over or had perished in an attempt to escape has never been determined.

Government's Financial Difficulties.

Though the Government had thus been relieved of its enemies, it had serious difficulties to encounter, the chief of which was lack of money. No revenue could be expected from regular sources. The English loans were granted on very hard conditions —the security of national property, customs, and salt mines at an interest of more than 50 per cent.; and the money was plundered by sailors, Arnauts and Palikars before it reached the rightful authorities. Hydriotes sold worthless hulks at the price of sound ships, and many a *capitano* received payment for a hundred rations a day when he commanded only a handful of men. The Government offices were beset by a crowd of expectant placemen eager to share the spoil. The Rumeliot allies proved an intolerable burden, stealing oxen from the plough and plundering houses to the four bare walls. Prokesch, travelling in the Morea in the spring of 1825, found everywhere misery and poverty. He was met by crowds of blind beggars led by children. Nauplia, half in ruins, was a nest of robbers; the fortifications were nearly destroyed, and everyone seemed to live from hand to mouth.

The Turks now conceived a new plan of action. They determined, first, to seize the islands and ruin the naval power of the rebels, and then to lead an army into the Morea to co-operate with another army in the north. For these purposes the Sultan invited the assistance of his mighty vassal, Mehmed Ali, Pasha of Egypt.

Mehmed Ali, of Egypt.

Mehmed Ali, a native of Macedonia, began life as the proprietor of a small tobacco shop, and had gone to Egypt in the time of Napoleon as commander of a few hundred Albanian mercenaries. By the murder of the Mamelukes he had paved the way for the creation of an army on European lines, and had amassed great riches by the establishment of monopolies and exclusive rights, and the seizure of large territories. He used his resources to model Egypt on a pattern of Western civilisation. The natives, whether brown or black, were drilled in his regiments, cultivated his fields, tilled his cotton plantations, dug his canals, built his arsenals, barracks and magazines. European officers placed their knowledge at the service of the despot, who had not learned to read till he was forty-seven years of age.

The Sultan saw the growth of his vassal's power with jealous eyes, but his assistance was now indispensable. Mehmed promised to fit out an expedition which was to be commanded by his adopted son Ibrahim. The Egyptians had conquered the island of Crete after a two years' struggle in which every horror was committed. Amongst other cruelties four hundred men, women and children had been stifled to death by smoke in a cave otherwise impregnable. Their next conquest was Kasos, a rocky island to the east of Crete, the home of savage pirates. More important was the capture of Psara by a Turkish armament under Chosrev, which was completed on July 8th. The mariners of Hydra and Spezzia set themselves to avenge this defeat. They collected a fleet, of which Miaoulis was one of the commanders, Kanaris also being on board. Chosrev having left the island to keep the feast of Bairam at Mitylene, the garrison he had left behind was defeated on July 17th and the majority of his ships were destroyed. Chosrev quickly reappeared, and the Greeks fled with their booty.

Turko-Egyptian Victories.

The Greek fleet prevented Chosrev's attack on Samos, but in September the Turkish-Egyptian squadron routed their enemy in the Roads of Budrun opposite the island of Kos. Exclusive of transports, they numbered 100 ships, armed with more than 2,000 guns, whereas the Greek ships had only 350 guns of very various calibre. Chosrev and Ibrahim, however, unable to agree, soon separated, Chosrev going to the Dardanelles and Ibrahim to the Sea of Marmora. In December the latter proceeded to Suda Bay, in Crete, where he carefully prepared an army of 20,000 men. Reserves of equal strength were ready to support him from Egypt. On February 23rd, 1825, the vanguard of Ibrahim, 4,500 strong, landed at Modon, on the south-west coast of the Morea. Egyptian ships broke through the blockade of Patras

and Ibrahim marched against Old and New Navarino. The Government of Nauplia sent as many Rumeliote and Suliote mercenaries as they could collect into Messenia, and the President, Konduriotti, took the command, accompanied by Mavrocordatos. A more inefficient commander could not have been found than the old Hydriote merchant, who could scarcely sit upon a horse, and spent several weeks in reaching the frontiers of Messenia. He then went back, and left Captain Scurtis in command. On April 19th the Greek army was defeated by the Turks, and the Rumeliote Palikars went home in disgust to defend their own country against Reshid Pasha.

Kolokotronis Recalled.

Ibrahim continued his siege operations. Old Navarino, the ancient Pylos, was defended by Bishop Gregory of Modon, New Navarino by the Piedmontese Collegno. Their only means of safety was from the sea; in order to secure this, the Greeks had occupied the island of Sphakteria, so celebrated in the Peloponnesian War. This was, however, captured by the Egyptians on May 8th, Santa Rosa, the hero of the Piedmontese revolution, being one of the victims. This was followed by the fall of Old and New Navarino at the end of the month. The way seemed opened for the conquest of the Morea. In their despair the Greeks had no other resource than to set Kolokotronis free, recall him to Nauplia, and invest him with full powers. Ibrahim pressed into the mountains of Arcadia and defeated the Greeks at Achovo on June 19th. He then advanced to Tripolitza—which offered no resistance—crossed the passes of Argolis, and appeared with a body of cavalry before the gates of Nauplia. This was bravely defended by the Greek patriots, assisted by a British squadron under Commodore Hamilton.

Ibrahim retreated to Tripolitza, from which centre he sent plunderers and murderers in all directions. He had expected the assistance of Chosrev, who was to attack Hydra and Spezzia, assist in the siege of Nauplia and bring provisions to the Egyptian army. But he did none of these things. The Greeks, however, profited little by his inactivity. An attack on the Egyptian and Turkish fleet in the Bay of Suda only resulted in the destruction of a single corvette, and the attempt of Kanaris to destroy the docks of Alexandria nearly cost him his life. The union between Egypt, Crete and the Morea continued. Their ships being too small to contend with the Egyptian navy, the Greeks endeavoured to procure the assistance of a steamer, and Captain Frank Abney Hastings, an ardent Philhellene, who had received his baptism of fire when eleven years of age at Trafalgar, promised to give £1,000

toward the purchase of a vessel if he were placed in the command of her.

Deception of the Greeks.

After some delay it was determined to build a steam corvette in London and buy two more in New York. In the summer of 1825, Lord Cochrane, just returned with his laurels from South America, offered to take command of the Greek fleet if he were highly paid and five other steam vessels were provided. But the Greeks were everywhere cheated and deceived. The steamship from England did not arrive till the autumn of 1826, and two others followed when too late to be of use; while three vessels built for Greece rotted at the London wharves. Of the two American ships, one was only saved from being sold by the action of the Congress of Washington, and this did not make its appearance in 1825 or 1826. So that the Greeks had to dispense with this assistance in the time of their deepest need.

Siege of Mesolonghi.

The eyes of the world were now turned to the siege of Mesolonghi, where Byron had died in April, 1824. In the spring of 1825, while the Egyptians were besieging Navarino, Reshid Pasha, the Sultan's ablest general, had led 10,000 Albanians before its walls. He had been told on his departure, "Mesolonghi or your head," and he did his utmost to save his head. The roads from Epirus were blockaded, and the Klephts of Eastern Hellas were detained beyond the Ætolian frontiers by the siege of Salona. He could procure a siege-train and ammunition from Patras; European engineers were hired to conduct the siege, and the peasants were compelled to execute their orders. The garrison, consisting of 4,000 men, were not alarmed, for they were commanded by Notis Botsaris, the uncle of the hero Markos, while the townsmen were prepared for every sacrifice. Ships from Hydra brought supplies and sustained their hopes of relief. Their condition became worse when, on July 10th, Chosrev drove away the Hydriote vessels and occupied the shallow lagoon with a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats. The town was now invested on both sides, but the garrison would not hear of surrender, repelling two violent attacks on July 28th and August 2nd. Even Gentz, who eagerly desired the success of Reshid, could not gainsay their heroic conduct.

On August 3rd, Miaoulis led his Hydriotes against the fleet of Chosrev, assisted by the Spezziote, Andrutsos, and the Psariote, Apostolis. The Kapudan pasha retreated to Zante, and then sailed to Alexandria. Mesolonghi received supplies of food and ammunition, and the lagoon flotilla was captured. Miaoulis had succeeded so fully that he thought it safe to leave Mesolonghi and

pursue Chosrev. The besieged defended themselves bravely during the autumn. Two-thirds of Reshid's army perished by fever, hunger and fighting. An Albanian corps deserted bodily, the rest were kept together with difficulty, and Reshid was reduced entirely to defensive measures. But a change was to take place. Miaoulis could not prevent Reshid from obtaining supplies and reinforcements by way of Patras, especially as he had been deserted by the Spezziotes. It must have been a bitter pill for the Sultan to swallow to ask for the assistance of Ibrahim in reducing the town, but Mehmed Ali responded with alacrity.

By the help of Chosrev, 10,000 fresh African troops had been landed in the Morea, and Ibrahim was burning to employ them and to effect in a short winter campaign what Reshid with his Albanians had failed to accomplish. He sent a portion of his troops by sea to Patras. With the main body he marched to the Isthmus of Corinth, having left behind a small force to garrison Tripolitza. The populace fled before him, offering no resistance. The Egyptian navy reached the coast of Ætolia at the end of December, and in January, 1826, Ibrahim placed his army by the side of Reshid's before the walls of Mesolonghi. Europe anxiously watched the fortunes of the little town, and the destiny of Grecian freedom hung upon the fate of the death-place of Byron.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PHILHELLENES

Enthusiastic Rally to Greece.

THE rise of the Philhellenes produced a profound effect on the future and fortunes of Greece. The cause of Greek freedom was of a nature to arouse enthusiasm in all parts of Europe, and to identify the struggle for liberation from the Mohammedan yoke with the cause of Liberty all over the world. Those who had fought for this cause in their own country, even though they had been ousted in the struggle, naturally fled to Greece, to lend their assistance to a people who had better hopes of success and whose oppressions were more generally obnoxious. So we find Fabvier, Santa Rosa and Collegno fighting for the Greeks, as well as Count Almeida, who had fled from Portugal; General Rossaroli, who had been condemned to death as a Carbonari in Sicily; Poles such as Mizewski, who fell at Peta; and Germans like Franz Lieber. No doubt many of these were disillusionised and disappointed. They found in the barbarous Klephts few representatives of Aristides and Epaminondas, but they threw the blame not so much on the nation as on its oppressors. What else could be expected of a people that had been subjected for four hundred years to every kind of barbarous misgovernment?

The general enthusiasm for the Hellenic cause led to the foundation of Philhellenic societies in different parts of Europe. Germany was among the first to feel the impulse. Ipitis, the body surgeon of Alexander Ypsilanti, appeared there in 1824, and secured the support of Frederick Thiersch in Munich, who received the title of Præceptor Bavariæ. He proposed the formation of a German legion in Greece. At Aschaffenburg, E. L. von Dalberg, who had commanded a regiment of the *Landwehr* in the War of Liberation, offered himself as the leader of a corps of volunteers to Greece. A society for assisting the Grecian cause with money was formed first in Stuttgart by Schott, the friend of the poet Uhland, and similar associations were established in Tübingen, Freiburg, Heidelberg, Darmstadt, Frankfort and Munich. The movement spread to Northern Germany, and Voss, the translator of Homer, contributed a thousand gulden to the cause.

This agitation was strongly opposed by Metternich, who

regarded it as toying with the revolution; and his disgust was increased by the suspicion that Ludwig, Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the King of Wurtemberg were favourable to the Philhellenes. He urged the Court of Berlin to emulate his hostility. Thiersch was given to understand that unless he desisted from the insurrectionary efforts he would be removed from his post. The movement, however, spread. Money was collected for the Greeks, and expeditions were dispatched to help them. William Müller, the popular poet, wrote a number of Greek songs, which had an enormous circulation and were incorporated with the literature of the people.

Switzerland's Response.

The next country to obey the impulse was Switzerland, whose history had so much in common with the history of the Greeks. Zürich became the centre of an agitation, at the head of which were Bremi, Orelli and Hirzel, and a union of the German and Swiss Committees took place at Stuttgart in September, 1822. The result was a loan of 150,000 gulden, and the formation of a body of 200 volunteers, many of them of very doubtful character. They were intended to assist the rising in Eastern Hellas, but proved a dismal failure and returned home without having effected anything.

England Joins the Movement.

The flame of Philhellenism now seized upon England, its progress being largely due to the murderous outrages in Chios. Attention was called to them by Thomas Stuart Hughes. Lord Erskine, anticipating the action of Gladstone in the Bulgarian massacres, wrote an open letter to Lord Liverpool, begging him to renounce the alliance of the murderers in Constantinople and to lead the movement for the liberation of Greece. When Canning succeeded Castlereagh as Foreign Minister, the Tories became better disposed to the Grecian cause, which had always been supported by the Whigs and Radicals. A committee for assisting the Greeks, formed in London at the beginning of 1823, was joined by Erskine, Joseph Hume, Hobhouse and Bowring. The Zürich Philhellenes hailed the co-operation of England with joy. Captain Edward Blaquière, the secretary of the London society, was sent to the Morea to make inquiries, and on his return, on September 13th, 1823, published a favourable report. He said that the National Assembly at Astros had introduced popular education on the method of Bell and Lancaster, and that schools had been founded in Tripolitza, Gastuni and Mesolonghi. Blaquière also published a history of the Greek Revolution in 1824.

But undoubtedly the most important recruit of the Philhellenes was Lord Byron. He had been passionately enthusiastic

for the cause of liberty in Italy, and through Count Gamba, of Ravenna, the brother of Countess Guiccioli, had been closely connected with the operations of the Carbonari. When the cause of Italian liberty seemed hopeless, he turned to Greece. He heard of the London Philhellenic Society from Blaquière, and was appointed its representative. He sailed from Genoa on July 15th, 1823, in a vessel provided with arms, munitions of war, medical appliances and money, and was accompanied by Count Gamba and Shelley's friend, Trelawney, who afterwards married the sister of Odysseus. On July 29th, 1823, in Leghorn, he received the last greetings of Goethe, and anchored in the harbour of Argostoli, in the island of Cephalonia, then under the protection of Great Britain, of which Charles Napier was the governor. Byron found himself the object of competition between the factions at that time dividing Greece. Petrobey was anxious to obtain the loan of a few thousand pounds, and Kolokotronis was ready to receive him in the Morea, on condition that the hated Mavrocordatos was placed on the back of a donkey and flogged out of the country. Byron, however, felt drawn to Mavrocordatos, whom he regarded as the Greek Washington or Kosciusko. He entered into negotiations with him, and, when Mavrocordatos established himself at Mesolonghi at the end of 1823, Byron sailed thither and reached the town on January 5th, 1824. He was received with royal honours, and was lodged with the Primate, Tricoupis. Unfortunately, he caught a chill on April 9th and died of fever ten days afterwards, on April 19th, 1824.

France's Effort for Greece.

The spirit of Philhellenism now infected France, receiving an impulse from Fauriel's *Popular Songs of Modern Greece*. The cause was supported by the painter Delacroix and the poet Delavigne, and was stimulated by the news of the Egyptian invasion of the Morea. A philanthropic society in favour of the Greeks was formed at Paris in May, 1825, which numbered on its committee men of such different views as Chateaubriand and Sebastiani, Duke Fitzjames and the banker Laffitte. Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, was one of the first subscribers. Bazaars, exhibitions and collections in favour of the Greeks were held in nearly every French town. With France was closely connected Genoa, where the historian Sismondi worked for the cause. Another prominent Philhellene was Eynard, the diplomatist, who sent 50,000 francs to the Paris Committee. Blaquière complained that Paris was more active than London. In fact, Louis Philippe had great hopes of obtaining the crown of Greece for his second son, the Duc

de Nemours. Other adherents were Prince Leopold of Coburg, the Prince of Wasa, and Jerome Bonaparte.

The Greeks Look to Britain.

On the other hand, Mavrocordatos, his brother-in-law Spiridion Tricoupis, and the principal inhabitants of the islands and the Morea were in favour of the predominance of Great Britain. Canning was known to be in favour of liberty on the Continent. When in the summer a communication came from Russia, proposing that peace should be made with Turkey on the basis of a limited independence, the provisional Government begged for the assistance of Great Britain. They were influenced in this by the support already accorded to the Spanish colonies in America. The feeling in favour of Great Britain was strengthened by the conduct of Commodore Hamilton in the assault of Nauplia by Ibrahim, and Mavrocordatos succeeded at the beginning of August in persuading the executive council to place themselves finally under British protection. The request was signed by several thousand persons; four copies were made, of which two were sent to the Commissioners of the Ionian Islands and two to Canning. The French and the Americans protested in vain, but Hamilton was the idol of the ruling party.

Brave Defence of Mesolonghi.

Mesolonghi still held out. In January, 1826, Miaoulis succeeded in forcing the lagoon and bringing assistance to the besieged, but after his departure the town was invested by a combined force of Turks and Egyptians. All suggestions of surrender were rejected, house after house was bombarded and destroyed, but the inhabitants vied in bravery with the Palikars. Ibrahim had jested at Reshid's not being able to take the place, but Reshid could now return the compliment. Ibrahim was determined to attack the lagoons first, and Fort Vasiladhi, which covered them, was captured on March 9th. Three days later the island of Dolma was stormed, which led to the fall of Anatoliko. The inhabitants fled with the remains of their provisions to Arta. The Commissioners of the Ionian Islands attempted to mediate with the Turks, but to no purpose, and the unequal contest still went on. The island of Klisova resisted a force seven times as large as its garrison, which made a sortie, in which Reshid Pasha was wounded and many Albanians and Egyptians were killed. But no help came to Mesolonghi from the outside. The Government in Nauplia was helpless; Fabvier had suffered a severe check in Euboea; Kolokotronis sulked in the Morea; Miaoulis tried his luck again with a small squadron, but it was too weak to effect anything; hunger and sickness were helping the work of the besieger, and the Swiss doctor, Meyer, wrote to a friend, "Our hour is at hand."

Fall of Mesolonghi.

The brave defenders determined not to surrender without a blow. They sent a message to Karaiskakis in the mountains to attack the enemy in the rear, but he was ill with fever and his lieutenant could only command a few hundred Klephts. In the evening of April 22nd some musket-shots gave the signal of their approach. But Ibrahim and Reshid were on the watch, and they were driven back by a more numerous band of Albanians. The garrison waited for a second signal, and when none came, and midnight approached, they determined to break out—old men, women, children, sick and wounded, all indeed who could move. They were received by a hail of musket-balls, a cry arose of "Back!" and the unwieldy mass now began to retreat. The enemy pressed with them into the town, and all males were slain. Constantine Tricoupis and Kokinis, the engineer of the fortress, fell, and with them Philhellenes like the Swiss Meyer and the Prussian Dittmar. The Bishop of Rogon set fire to a powder magazine and was afterwards beheaded, half burnt. The aged Primate, Kapsalis, shut himself up in a windmill full of cartridges, with a number of men unarmed like himself, and blew it up, singing a hymn as the enemy were breaking in from the roof. Some thousands of women and children, rescued from the burning city, were sold into slavery. In the beginning of June a handful of 1,300 fugitives from Mesolonghi reached Salona, among them only seven women and a few children.

Widespread Sympathy for Greek Cause.

The heroic fate of Mesolonghi aroused enthusiasm for the Hellenic cause throughout the whole of the West, and its siege became the theme of poet and painter throughout Europe. The new King of Bavaria, Ludwig, gave 20,000 gulden towards the Greek cause. He brought Philhellenism to the throne, and after the fall of Mesolonghi spent 100,000 francs on the Greeks. In Berlin, Hufeland and Neander signed an appeal in favour of Greece, the King himself subscribing 1,200 friedrichs d'or, and noble ladies going about with collecting-boxes. A concert given by the famous singer, Sonntag, produced a large sum. Stein subscribed £20 a year for the unhappy victims of the savage Ottomans, and Niebuhr saw, not without emotion, his son Marcus empty his money-box for the Greeks. New life was thrown into the movement in Switzerland, and the Genevese Eynard redoubled his efforts. He held constant correspondence with the heads of the Greek Government, and had representatives in Ancona, Corfu, Zante, Cerigo and Nauplia, while he kept Europe fully informed of the course of events.

Enthusiasm was just as strong in Paris. The Duchesse de

Broglie made collections for the Greeks, and Rossini gave concerts for them. French workmen contributed their sous in the cause of freedom. Philhellenism became the fashion, and Marseilles, Lyons and Nîmes vied with Paris. Chateaubriand forbade captured Greeks to be carried to the slave-markets in French ships. Noailles proposed that the Peers should contribute a sum of money for their liberation, and was supported by Benjamin Constant, while Perier, Sebastiani and Hyde de Neuville rebuked the lethargy of Villèle. It is said that up to the end of 1826 the Paris Committee had contributed a million and a half of francs to the Greek cause. But the moral support of the Greeks was even stronger than the material. Hyde de Neuville said, "The Greeks are no revolutionists; they are fighting for their God and their freedom"; and all Europe was of the same opinion. Similar feeling manifested itself in Stockholm, Edinburgh, The Hague and Florence. High and low, Conservatives and Liberals, believers and unbelievers, were at one with each other. For the first time since 1815 there was a real European Concert.

Russia and Turkey.

After the Congress of Verona, the Tsar had committed all negotiations with the Porte to the care of the Allies—that is, to whatever the representatives of Austria and Great Britain might persuade the Turks to grant at Constantinople. The question of chief importance for Russia was the evacuation by the Turks of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the appointment of a Hospodar. There remained the questions of the navigation of the Black Sea and the occupation of certain fortresses in Asia Minor to which the Turks raised objections. Russia, therefore, declined to send an ambassador to Constantinople until these matters were regulated. Nor could the future condition of the Greeks be a matter of indifference to either Russia or Turkey, although it did not take the first place. The Turks showed some disposition to yield in the navigation of the Black Sea, but resisted the complete evacuation of the Principalities.

The Tsar and the Emperor of Austria met in October at Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina. Metternich was unwell and had to remain behind in Lemberg. "Any war," said the Tsar, "except the one undertaken against revolution and revolutionaries would at the present moment endanger the existence of all Governments. I dread it, as I should consider it a misfortune for the whole of Europe. If the general interest demanded that the Turks should be driven from Europe I should be happy to use all my efforts to that end, but I would never attack them by myself." The Tsar further proposed that the pacification of

Greece should be discussed at St. Petersburg, with the co-operation of the representatives of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain and France.

Russian Proposals for Greece.

The Russian plan for the pacification of the Greeks was as follows, contained in a memoir dated January 9th, 1824. It laid down that the Turks would never consent to the independence of Greece, and that the Greeks would never submit to resume their former position. Accordingly, it was necessary to find a middle course the results of which were to be placed under the guarantee of the Great Powers. Three principalities were to be formed under the suzerainty of the Sultan—Eastern Greece, from the northern frontier of Thessaly to the sea; Western Greece, consisting of Epirus, Ætolia, and Acarnania; and thirdly, the Morea, with the possible addition of Crete. The islands of the Archipelago were to remain with Turkey, but their principal institutions were to be secured. The Sultan was to receive a yearly tribute, with permission to keep garrisons in certain places. The Greeks were to be allowed full freedom of commerce, under their own flag, and all officials were to be Greek. They were, further, to be represented at the Porte by the Patriarch of Constantinople, whose independence was to be secured by international law.

This proposal was equally distasteful to Greece and Turkey. The Greeks would accept nothing short of independence, and the Turks objected to foreign interference in their affairs. The French were well disposed towards it, but Berlin and Vienna gave it a half-hearted reception. On the other hand, Canning was more than suspected of being a Philhellene. Sir Thomas Maitland, who died in 1824, was succeeded as Commissioner of the Ionian Islands by Frederick Adam, well known to be a friend of the Greeks.

Stratford Canning's Mission.

The St. Petersburg Conference, held in June and July, produced little effect; but matters were looking better in the land of the Golden Horn, where the new Grand Vizir, Ghalib, was a man of European culture. The Porte declared its willingness to reduce its army in the provinces to what it was before Ypsilanti's raid. This paved the way for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia. Lord Strangford, who did not share the views of Canning, prepared to leave his post. But even before he left, Ghalib had expressed his discontent at the Russian plan. The differences between Metternich and Canning grew gradually wider, but Metternich did his best to prevent Great Britain from leaving the alliance. Canning had selected his cousin, Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, as the successor of Lord Strangford at Constantinople. On his way to his mission he was

to visit Vienna and St. Petersburg, with the double purpose of excusing Great Britain from taking part in the St. Petersburg Conferences and of settling some differences between Great Britain and Russia with regard to the north Armenian frontier.

In Vienna Stratford Canning had long conferences with Metternich and Gentz. Gentz describes him as "the other eye of his cousin," and the discussions proved almost barren. His reception in St. Petersburg by the Tsar and Nesselrode was chilling, and he was told that it was no good saying anything so long as Great Britain would take no part in the conference.

Metternich's Master-stroke.

The second St. Petersburg Conference dated from February 24th to April 7th, 1825. It began with a proposal from Russia that Turkey should be compelled to grant an armistice to the Greeks by threats of withdrawing all ambassadors from Constantinople, and that negotiations between the Turks and the Greeks should take place on a neutral ship in the Bosphorus, under the mediation of the Great Powers. Metternich was afraid that a measure of this kind might lead to a war between Russia and the Porte, which he was most anxious to avoid, and he said, of the two alternatives—withdrawal of ambassadors or Greek independence—he preferred the latter. This master-stroke was intended to frighten the Porte and force Russia to drop the mask. Nesselrode protested in answer that Russia had no desire for Greek independence, that she wished Greece should remain under Turkey, but with a more peaceful existence and complete administrative independence. The continuance of the conference only accentuated the differences between Austria and Russia. At length, on April 7th, a protocol was signed, by which the representatives of the Powers in Constantinople were to put pressure upon the Reis Effendi to admit the mediation of the Great Powers. But no sanction was laid down in case of failure, although the Tsar would have desired, to apply compulsion.

Metternich received the news of the conclusion of the conferences at Paris with much satisfaction. He had gone there to confer with Charles X., Villèle and Damas about the Eastern question, in which France was now taking a more active interest. General Guilleminot had been sent to Constantinople in the spring of 1824 with magnificent presents. He established the new French Embassy in the Golden Horn in stately splendour, while Admiral de Rigny was sent with a fleet to the Levant. Metternich naturally supported the policy of France, as diminishing the influence of Russia. He was in high spirits, and thought that he had achieved a brilliant success. George IV. invited him to England,

and Metternich believed that if he could have accepted the invitation he would soon have annihilated the influence of Canning. But Canning opposed his coming so strongly that he thought it advisable to decline. So he went from Paris to Milan, where he was to meet the Emperor Francis and report his successes.

Russia Deserts the Alliance.

Meanwhile, the proposals of the St. Petersburg Conference were emphatically rejected by the Porte. The Reis Effendi declared, "The Greek question is purely a domestic one; we watch over our Rayahs as jealously as we watch over our harems." Metternich was more delighted than ever over the humilation of Russia, and still more jubilant at hearing that the Greek Government at Nauplia had, on August 1st, 1825, placed itself under the protection of Great Britain. He regarded this as a species of Divine intervention which comes specially to help those who follow what is right. He said, "What line will Mr. Canning now take? That is for him to decide; but, whatever he does, it is quite certain that he will always stick in the mud." However, in the result Russia deserted the Alliance. On August 18th Nesselrode announced that his master had resolved henceforth to act in the Eastern question without reference to his allies, and with consideration of his own dignity and the interests of his Empire. Tatischev was ordered to hold no further communications with Metternich. On the other hand, there was a *rapprochement* between Russia and Great Britain which was marked by the dispatch of Lord Strangford to St. Petersburg.

Great Britain's Neutrality.

Canning took pains not to offend the susceptibilities of Russia by too much eagerness for the Greek cause. Being asked whether there was any likelihood of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg accepting the Greek crown, he said that this would be impossible without the consent of the Sovereigns, and their consent would certainly not be given. In sending this answer, he begged it might not be regarded as a proof of unfriendliness towards Greece if Great Britain determined to adopt an attitude of "unswerving neutrality." Next day, August 30th, a Royal Proclamation warned British subjects of the danger of violating this neutrality; so, when the document of August 1st arrived from Nauplia, Canning announced his readiness to put an end to further bloodshed, but declined the offered protectorate.

At this time Caninng also sought to unite Great Britain with France in putting an end to the conflict in the East. He contemplated a junction of the British, Russian and French fleets for the purpose of enforcing peace between the combatants. Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador, became on more familiar terms

with Canning and agreed that the past should be forgotten and that the two Governments should have confidence in each other. This change of attitude was to be communicated to Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington, but not to the King, who was sure to report it to Esterhazy.

In this manner, towards the end of 1825, an understanding was completed between Russia and Great Britain. It only required the seal of the Emperor Alexander to give it efficacy. But his sudden and unexpected death at Taganrog, December 1st, 1825, produced an entire change in the course of Eastern policy.

CHAPTER XV

THE ACCESSION OF NICHOLAS I. AND THE TREATY OF LONDON

Nicholas Nominated instead of Constantine.

THE Tsar Alexander had no children and, on August 28th, 1823, had drawn up a paper assigning the throne to his younger brother Nicholas instead of to the elder brother Constantine. Constantine had also written a formal renunciation of the succession. He felt that he was not fit to govern ; moreover, he had been separated from his wife in 1820 and had no heir to the throne. He was also anxious to marry the Polish Countess Grudzinska, whose children would not be entitled to the succession. Alexander was not willing to publish the document in his lifetime, but the original was preserved in the Church of the Assumption at Moscow, and copies were kept in the archives of the Council of State, the Senate and the Synod. The seals of these documents were to be broken after his death. These facts were told to the Empress Mother, when assent had been obtained to the arrangement ; and Prince William of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor William, heard of it on a visit to St. Petersburg and informed his father. Nicholas, of course, knew all about it. Before his departure for Taganrog, Alexander was advised by Prince Alexander Galitzin to make the document public, but refused, saying, " Let us depend upon God : He will understand how to direct matters better than we poor mortals."

When Alexander felt himself dying he did not say a word about the succession, and the two general-adjutants who were present at his death-bed, Prince Volkonski and General Diebich, regarded it as their duty to consider Constantine as Emperor. Diebich directed the dispatch sent to Warsaw announcing Alexander's death, " To His Majesty, the Emperor Constantine," and asked for his commands. When Constantine heard of the news he surrendered himself to sorrow, but forbade those who surrounded him to give him the title of Tsar. He read the renunciation to Novolsitzov and a few others, and sent his brother Michael to St. Petersburg with a letter affirming it. The authorities at Warsaw were anxious to salute him as Tsar, but he shut himself up in his palace under plea of illness and would see no one. Nicholas was prepared to assume the sceptre, but Miloradovich,

the Governor-General of St. Petersburg, had informed him, two days before the news of the Tsar's death arrived from Taganrog, that he would not allow anyone but Constantine to succeed to the throne, and when the news came he announced that everyone must swear allegiance to Constantine. Nicholas did so, although his mother told him that the sealed paper should be opened first, and all authorities in the capital followed his example.

Constantine Receives Homage.

When the Council of State assembled in the afternoon Galitzin demanded that the document of August 28th, 1823, should be unsealed, and the copy preserved in their archives was accordingly opened and read. Then Miloradovich appeared and stated that Nicholas had already taken the oath of allegiance to Constantine. Nicholas refused to attend the sitting, and induced all the members of the Council of State to take the oath to Constantine. This was done, and the document was sealed up again. The copies in the archives of the Senate and of the Synod were not touched. The original, which, according to Alexander's orders, had to be unsealed by the Archbishop and the Governor-General of Moscow, was also left unopened. Constantine received homage in Moscow likewise. A decree of the Senate ordered that an oath of allegiance should be taken to him throughout the Empire, passports were prepared in his name, and his portrait was exhibited in all the windows as that of the new Tsar.

Constantine's Renunciation.

These events produced considerable confusion. Prince Sachovski said to Miloradovich, "If Constantine holds to his resignation your taking the oath will be regarded as an act of violence." Miloradovich answered, "When one has 100,000 bayonets in one's pocket, it is easy to speak with boldness." Nicholas had immediately sent an adjutant to Warsaw to inform Constantine of what had occurred, with a few lines in which he signed himself "Your faithful subject." This messenger was crossed by the Grand Duke Michael, who brought Constantine's renunciation to St. Petersburg. The Imperial family were in great embarrassment. They did their best to persuade Constantine to come himself to St. Petersburg, or at any rate to make a public declaration of his intentions, and the Empress Mother and Nicholas wrote to him to this effect. The letter was answered on December 24th. Constantine was deeply distressed that the provisions of Alexander had not been followed, and rated the Council of State soundly for neglect of duty. He refused either to abdicate or to issue a proclamation, but gave Nicholas his blessing as Emperor and referred everybody to Alexander's declaration, which he said would explain everything.

The Decabrist Revolt.

Nicholas was determined to act, and a manifesto announcing his succession was drawn up by Speranski. The Council of State was summoned on December 25th to hear this from the mouth of Nicholas. When he took leave of them he said, " To-day I entreat, to-morrow I shall command you." On the following day the manifesto was published and an oath of allegiance was taken to the Tsar Nicholas. This led to the rebellion of the Decabrists, as they were called. With Prince Trubetzkoi as their leader, they determined to assemble as many troops as possible in the Senate Square and seize the Winter Palace, the ministerial offices, the post, and the banks. They hoped for a provisional government, which should grant a Constitution with representative government and abolish serfdom. A Diet was then to be elected which would determine upon the election of a new Tsar. There is no doubt that the ends of the Decabrists were as pure as their methods were ridiculous, but they acted with incredible frivolity.

Military Revolt against Nicholas.

The morning of December 26th broke cold and cheerless. Nicholas said to Alexander von Bernstoff, " This evening perhaps we shall not be alive, but if we die we shall die in doing our duty." The commanding officers of the divisions, brigades, and regiments of the Guards had been summoned. Nicholas appeared before them and read to them his own manifesto, Constantine's renunciation, and Alexander's testament. He received from them an assurance that they regarded him as their legitimate sovereign. He made them answer with their lives for the safety of the capital, and said, as he parted from them, " For myself, if I am Emperor only for an hour, I will show myself worthy of the post."

The first sign of disaffection came from the horse artillery of the guard. Some officers said that the Grand Duke Michael had been removed from St. Petersburg as a supporter of Constantine, and demanded that he should appear and confirm the legality of Nicholas's accession. Michael went into the barracks and removed all doubts. In the meantime a part of the Moscow Guard regiments refused the oath. The soldiers accepted what they were told by Alexander Bestuchev and his companions, and refused to take the oath to Nicholas, who they believed had violently seized the throne and murdered his brother in prison. Two generals who tried to appease the rebels were wounded. About a thousand men, accompanied by a crowd, marched into the Senate Square with cries of " Hurrah, Constantine ! " There they were joined by a battalion of the Marine Guard, a battalion of the Finland Guard, and three companies of bodyguards. This handful of rebels stood round the monument of Peter the Great, in a temperature

of 10 degrees below zero, with an east wind blowing. The soldiers had no idea of the purpose of the revolution. They were told to shout, "Long live the Constitution!" and they thought it was the name of Constantine's wife. A large crowd gazed at the spectacle without moving a finger. Prince Trubetzkoi was nowhere to be seen, and at length, when Prince Obolenski took the command, there was complete anarchy, all shouting in confusion.

Riotous Reception of Nicholas.

This disorderly body might have been dispersed by a single cannon-shot, but half the day passed before the order was given. Nicholas desired to avoid bloodshed, and he did not know how far he could reckon on the support of the army. In the course of the day he gave orders that if necessary the Imperial family should leave St. Petersburg. Standing before the Winter Palace, he read his manifesto and received the homage of the crowd. Those nearest to him kissed him, and he returned their kisses. Then he placed himself at the head of the Preobradzhensky Guard and summoned the cavalry of the guard to his aid. Miloradovich, relying on his popularity, went into the midst of the insurgents and addressed them. They seemed to listen to him, but he was fatally wounded by the pistol of Lieutenant Kutsovsky. Some others were killed and stones were thrown, but as the cavalry advanced all fled. The entrances to the square were occupied, new regiments surrounded the insurgents, and, when cannon arrived, their muzzles were pointed at the crowd.

Sentences on the Decabrists.

The Grand Duke Michael made an attempt, at the risk of his life, to persuade the soldiers of the guard to return to their duty, but with no success. Then the Metropolitans of St. Petersburg and Kiev appeared in full canonicals, but their voices were drowned by the beating of drums. It began to grow dark, and Generals Toll and Vasiltzikov urged Nicholas to fire, and the guns were loaded. A final attempt at pacification was made by General Suchosanet, who promised a pardon if the ringleaders were given up, but he was fired at. Then the first shot was fired over the heads of the crowd, but others struck in their midst, and the insurgents dispersed in wild confusion. Many were killed in the side streets, and several were drowned in the Neva. At 7 in the evening Nicholas returned to his family, and attended a solemn Te Deum. The city soon resumed its normal appearance. The Decabrists' trials came to an end in the summer of 1826. Five of the accused were condemned to be quartered, among them the famous Pestel, and thirty-one were condemned to execution. But the harshness of their sentences was mitigated by the Tsar, and eventually only five were put to death.

Austria and the New Tsar.

Before Alexander's death Russia had deserted the European Concert, and effected an alliance with Great Britain, the conclusion of which was only prevented by his demise. The events which immediately followed aroused keen interest in Vienna. Metternich naturally desired the accession of Constantine. He said: "With him a history would begin for Russia, in which romance would have no place." He believed that Constantine was devoted to Austria, detested the British, despised the French, and regarded Prussia as possessed with the revolutionary spirit. On the other hand, Nicholas was rather opposed to the Austrian policy. He was aware that Count Lebzeltern, the Ambassador of Austria to St. Petersburg and the brother-in-law of Trubetzkoi, had been connected with the Decabrists. Certainly he had shown himself in favour of Constantine, and had said that the accession of Nicholas would be a misfortune for Russia. Lebzeltern, therefore, knew that his position was untenable, and asked to be recalled. Metternich dreaded a war between Russia and Turkey.

An opportunity now occurred of sounding the views of Nicholas on the Greek question. The Archduke Ferdinand of Este was sent by Austria to congratulate Nicholas on his accession, together with the Duke of Wellington from Great Britain and Prince William from Prussia. The Archduke brought a suggestion that the five Powers should propose a mediation between Greece and the Porte, which, however, neither country should be punished for not accepting. If Turkey showed great stubbornness, Russia might withdraw her ambassador from Constantinople. Canning disliked this proposal, but Metternich approved of it, and recommended it warmly to the Tsar.

Russian Ultimatum to Turkey.

The Archduke was well received, and Nicholas wished to be joined with Austria and Prussia in securing the peace of Europe. He expressed some dislike of Great Britain, and called the Greeks "rebels," but he also showed an intention of putting pressure on Turkey. "I have the necessary means," he said; "I will soon settle the rascals." He seemed, however, to lay more stress on the points in dispute between Russia and Turkey than on the fate of Greece. Metternich did his best to moderate the excitement of the war party in St. Petersburg, and to counsel submission at Constantinople. On April 5th, 1826, a Russian ultimatum was presented to the Porte. It asked for the restoration of the Principalities in every respect to the position in which they were before the disturbances of 1821, for the granting of the demands of Servia, the liberation of the ambassadors who were kept in prison at Constantinople, and the carrying out of the Treaty of Bucharest.

These demands did not cause any great excitement, but the terms in which they were couched were peremptory. An answer was to be given in six weeks, and failing it, the Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, would be occupied by a Russian army. Metternich used all his influence to get these terms accepted, and on May 4th the Porte agreed to them.

Stratford Canning's Failure.

As he passed through the Archipelago on his way to Constantinople, Stratford Canning had met Mavrocordatos and Zopalus, a member of the Greek Parliament, on the coast of Hydra, on January 9th. He proposed to mediate on the terms that Greece should receive, not complete independence, but a certain amount of self-government, pay a yearly tribute to the Porte, and compensate the Turkish landed proprietors. That the Greeks should contemplate the acceptance of such terms shows the low state to which they were reduced. But at Constantinople itself Stratford Canning had no success at all. The Turks were elated by their victories, and would not hear of the mediation of Great Britain. Ottenfels, the Austrian Ambassador, was delighted. He wrote to Vienna, "Never was the Porte less disposed to surrender itself to England than now." Metternich replied: "Stratford Canning has come to the end of his business. Instead of saving the Greeks, he has isolated his own country."

Agreement between Britain and Russia.

But Metternich was mistaken. Wellington was now in St. Petersburg and Count Lieven arrived there at the same time. On April 4th, 1826, a protocol was signed between Great Britain and Russia in the following terms:—The two Powers were to propose to the Porte the recognition of a position for Greece similar to that which Stratford Canning had sketched at Hydra, and the Greeks had practically accepted; the Sultan was to retain his suzerainty; the Greeks were to pay a fixed yearly tribute, to have the right of choosing their governors, subject to the approval of the Porte, to have freedom of government, of commerce and of worship, and to have permission to acquire land now held by Turks, so as to effect a complete separation between the two nations. The limits of the new Greece were to be defined later. There was no mention of compulsion, but Russia and Great Britain bound themselves to regard these points as the foundation of an arrangement between the two parties. Both parties were to renounce for themselves any increase of territory, predominating influence, and any special commercial advantages.

This protocol was to be communicated confidentially to Vienna, Paris and Berlin, with the offer of joining in it, but it became known long before it was officially published. Nicholas protested

to Lebzeltern that he thought he deserved the gratitude of his allies by having compelled Great Britain to forgo any selfish advantage, and he used similar language to Laferronays. But, as a fact, the Alliance had received a fatal blow by Russia uniting herself with Great Britain, which since the Congress of Verona had gone her own way. Canning was quite aware of this, although the Tsar attempted to conceal it. He laid stress on the fact that the mediation was an independent act of the two Powers, made before they had been requested by the belligerents to exercise mediation. Metternich was beside himself. He called the protocol a "miserable work," for which he would not be responsible. It could have no practical results: should peace be kept between Russia and Turkey, Canning would not interfere in favour of the Greeks, but should war break out, the fate of Greece would depend upon its issue. The protocol had been published by *The Times*, but it seemed to produce no effect.

The Treaty of Akkerman.

More attention was paid to the negotiations which were going on in the Bessarabian town of Akkerman with regard to the execution of the Treaty of Bucharest. The main question in dispute was the surrender of certain fortresses in Asia Minor, which had been occupied by Russia. The feeling in Russia was in favour of war, and nothing remained for the Turks but absolute submission. Indeed, at the moment Turkey found herself unarmed. She had depended for her defence on a body of janizaries, a Prætorian Guard who enjoyed special privileges, but were unsuited to modern warfare, and exercised a tyrannous control over the Government. Mehmed conceived the plan of selecting 150 men from each battalion who should form the nucleus of an army drilled and exercised by Arabs on European methods. Hearing of this the janizaries mutinied, expecting to be supported by the populace and the Ulemas or priests. Both, however, withheld their countenance, and on June 16th, 1826, thousands of the rebels were destroyed by bullet, fire and sword. The janizaries throughout the Empire were abolished and a beginning was made of a new model army. But, as this required time, the Turks meanwhile were powerless, and Mehmed had no other course but to submit to the Russian demands, and the Treaty of Akkerman was signed on October 6th, 1826. It allowed Russia to occupy the fortresses in Asia Minor and to acquire a rectification of frontiers in Bessarabia; promised Russian subjects full compensation for their losses and unlimited freedom of navigation in all Turkish waters; and gave a firm position to Servia in the Principalities. The Hospodars were to be elected from the Boyars, and could not be deposed without

the consent of Russia. Indeed, by the Convention of Akkerman, Russia became almost the sovereign of the two Principalities.

Canning and Turkey.

Canning formed the idea of keeping a strong British squadron in the Archipelago, in order to intercept the Egyptian fleet on its way to Greece, and thus render Ibrahim Pasha impotent. When Lieven returned to England, after having been raised to the rank of prince, the negotiations between him and Canning were resumed. The latter desired to put every pressure upon the Porte short of actual war. This was to be effected by sending consular agents to Greece, by recognising the provisional government of Greece, and, in the last resort, by threatening the recognition of the independence of the Morea and the islands. He wrote to his cousin: "Every means, except war, will be employed to break the Turkish obstinacy. You need not fear that the Holy Alliance will fetter you. It no longer marches in step."

Canning v. Metternich.

Canning now proceeded to constitute a triple alliance for the liberation of Greece, between Russia, Great Britain and France, and for this purpose he went to Paris, where the enthusiasm of Philhellenism was very strong. He desired to counteract the influence which Metternich had exerted a year before, and found Charles X., Villèle and Damas ready to fall in with his views. They proposed to turn the St. Petersburg protocol into a formal treaty, a scheme which entirely coincided with the views of Canning, who returned to London full of confidence, and renewed his conversations with Lieven. Lieven went even farther than he did. He was empowered to agree that the signatories of the protocol should, even without the co-operation of the other Powers, break off diplomatic relations with the Porte if the Turks did not accept its terms. Canning was not prepared to go as far as this. As much of the correspondence between them as was not confidential was, at the end of the year, communicated to the Courts of Paris, Berlin and Vienna, with a request that they would collaborate in carrying out the protocol. Their answers soon arrived. France was quite ready to accept the proposal and turn the protocol into a treaty, but Metternich feared to use measures by which a sovereign might be compelled to renounce his authority over his subjects, and Bernstorff demanded absolute unanimity from the members of the great European alliance.

Turks Resent British Interference.

The Turks showed no disposition to yield. The Reis Effendi remarked that the Turks had never attempted to mediate in the quarrels between Great Britain and the Irish; why, then, should Great Britain interfere in the rebellion of the Greeks? The Russians were told that all their demands had been satisfied at Akkerman. The Porte issued a manifesto on June 9th, which was

communicated to the Great Powers and foiled all attempts in future at foreign intervention. Stratford Canning, in despair, advised that the cause of the Greeks should be given up, unless the Powers were prepared to employ force, and the Russians and French began to draw up schemes for a triple alliance.

Wellington Leaves the Cabinet.

At this juncture a change of government took place in England. Lord Liverpool fell seriously ill and the Wellington party left the Cabinet. Canning, with the assistance of the Whigs, formed a new Government, more favourable to the dissemination of Liberal opinion in Europe. One of the last official acts of Wellington was to object to an interpretation of the St. Petersburg protocol which might invest mediation between the Greeks and the Turks with the character of compulsion. Canning did not entirely agree with the attitude of Russia, but he was not unwilling to use the threat of compulsion in certain contingencies. France endorsed the views of Canning, but, as might be expected, Austria and Prussia held different opinions, which they justified in various ways. But all Metternich's attempts to discredit Canning in the eyes of the Russians and the French totally failed.

The Treaty of London.

The Treaty of London was signed on July 6th, 1827. Great Britain, Russia and France bound themselves to put an end to further bloodshed in Greece and to crush piracy in the Archipelago at its fountain-head. They determined to offer an armistice to both the belligerents. If the Porte did not accept the mediation, the contracting Powers would take steps to show their sympathy with the Greeks, in the first instance by establishing commercial relations with them. If the armistice were not concluded within a month measures would be taken to compel them to it. This was to be done without taking the side of either belligerent. Everything else was left to the instructions which were to be given to the admirals commanding the three squadrons in the Levant. Further consultations would be held in London to meet emergencies.

A few days later the convention, together with the secret articles, was published in *The Times*, and great was the joy of the Philhellenes. If the treaty did not fulfil their expectations, it at least warranted the belief that the sufferings of Greece would soon be at an end. On the other hand, Metternich regarded the convention as an unholy action. He did not fear so much the political freedom of the Greeks, or the triumph of a new revolution in Europe, as the outbreak of war in the East. He wrote to Ottenfels: "The treaty may lead to anything except to that which is its object. What it certainly leads to is a war between Russia and the Porte." As the event showed, his inference was sound.

CHAPTER XVI

NAVARINO

AFTER the fall of Mesolonghi, the condition of Greece was most serious. Contemptuous critics asked where was the Greece for which the Great Powers were to undertake personal responsibility. One symptom of the country's state was that the National Assembly at Piadha relieved the members of the Government of their authority and offices. In its stead they appointed eleven men, under the presidency of Andreas Zaimis, as a temporary Committee of Government, and created also a Committee of Surveillance, with the Archbishop Germanos at its head. The Moreotes had a majority in both assemblies. When the new Government entered Nauplia, they found only sixteen piastres in the Treasury, and were continuously threatened by Suliote and Rumeliote marauders. Piracy at sea and disease on shore completed their misfortunes. **Serious Condition of Greece.**

In other respects, however, matters were more promising. The numbers and enthusiasm of the Philhellenes throughout Europe grew apace. Money began to flow into the Greek coffers, the English loan was paid and creditors were satisfied. Moreover, the operations of the Turks, both at sea and in the Morea, were very weak. Mehmed began to cool in his devotion to the Porte, having good reason to believe that Chosrev, the Kapudan Pasha, his ancient enemy, was endeavouring to wear out his fleet. On the other hand, Reshid Pasha was able to capture Athens The Acropolis was defended gallantly by Guras, and when he was killed by a stray shot, his widow took his place, and succeeded in rescuing the citadel from the hands of the Turks.

Warned by these events and by the fall of Mesolonghi, the Government removed from Piadha to the island of Aegina, on November 23rd. This change was followed by new victories. On December 6th Karaiskakis gained the Battle of Arachova, where he completely defeated Mustapha Bey, who commanded an army four times as strong as his own. Six days later the Frenchman, Fabvier, succeeded in forcing his way through the Turkish lines into the Acropolis. He brought the besieged a supply of powder, which they sadly needed, but, as his retreat was cut off, and he could not succeed in raising the siege, there were so many **Greek Victories.**

more mouths to feed. Reshid Pasha continued the bombardment, doing irreparable harm to the buildings, and burying the widow of Guras under the ruins of the Erechtheum.

Enthusiastic Friends of Greece.

Another attempt was made by the Philhellenes to rescue the Acropolis. During the autumn the Englishman, Hastings, had arrived at Nauplia with his ship, the *Karteria*, which was followed in December by an American vessel, the *Hellas*. Thomas Cochrane, afterwards Lord Dundonald, was expected to take the command of the fleet, and Richard Church to take charge of the army. Before they arrived, Thomas Gordon, a Scot, determined to imperil his life for the cause he loved, and was joined by the Bavarian Colonel von Heideck, who had been sent with several officers and sergeants by King Ludwig. Gordon's plan was to land some thousand men at the Piræus, protected by the guns of Hastings. Another body was to march from Eleusis to Menidhi. This was commanded by Colonel Bourbaki, of Cephalonia, whose son became a distinguished general under Napoleon III.

Church and Cochrane.

Everything was ready for the attack in February, 1827. On February 5th Gordon landed his troops and entrenched himself on the hill of Munichia, but was unable to capture the convent of St. Spiridion, which barred his passage. Bourbaki was defeated and killed on the march by Reshid Pasha, and the Palikars of Gordon's army fled to their ships and retired to Salamis. Reshid was now free to turn the whole of his strength against Gordon, who found himself blockaded. Attempts of Heideck and Karaiskakis to cut off Reshid's communications were not entirely successful, and the hopes of the Greeks now centred on the two great Englishmen, Church and Cochrane. Church landed at Argolis on March 13th, and was received by Kolokotronis and Metaxas with the cry, "Here is our father; we will obey him and our freedom will be secured." Church, however, left them and proceeded to the seat of government in Aegina. Cochrane, whose reputation was known in both hemispheres, arrived in command of a brig equipped by the French Philhellenes, and with a considerable sum of money from the same source. Both he and Church stipulated that, before they did anything, the Greeks should cease to quarrel among themselves and agree upon a united command.

At this time there were two main parties in Greece. One was headed by Kolokotronis, who was joined by the wealthy Hydriote, Konduriotti, and had its seat at Kastri, the ancient Hermione, in Argolis. The other, in Aegina, was led by Mavrocordatos and Tricoupis. The latter, devoted to Great Britain, was supported by Commodore Hamilton, and was in constant communication

with Stratford Canning. Kolokotronis, on the other hand, disliked the British and looked for support to Russia, especially to Capodistrias, who had been the favourite of the Emperor Alexander. The French party, who favoured the Duc d'Orléans, had by this time lost ground, but it was rather inclined to Kolokotronis. Cochrane and Church spoke their mind forcibly to both factions.

Capodistrias as President.

A new Assembly was summoned at Dramala, near the ruins of the ancient Troezen, and on April 11th, 1827, Capodistrias was elected President for seven years, with the consent of all parties and the sanction of Stratford Canning and Commodore Hamilton. Cochrane was appointed Chief Admiral and Miaoulis placed himself under his command, giving up to him the *Hellas*. On April 19th Church took the oath as Commander-in-Chief. They then set themselves to a united enterprise for the relief of the Acropolis. Three thousand soldiers marched from the Morea, by the Isthmus of Corinth, to Megara and Eleusis. A number of Hydriote and Spezziote mercenaries, paid by Cochrane, under the command of Urquhart, landed at Phalerum. Cochrane and Church consulted with Karaiskakis as to the best means of attack. The Greek advised the cutting-off of Reshid Pasha's supplies, but Cochrane determined on a front attack. On April 25th he stormed the Turkish trenches in front of St. Spiridion, but the monastery was still held by Albanians. After three days the defenders capitulated, but were most shamefully murdered by the Greeks. Gordon sent in his resignation to the Government, while Cochrane and Church protested against the outrage in vain.

Death of Karaiskakis.

Cochrane did not understand that the strength of the Greeks lay in guerilla warfare, and that they were comparatively useless for a direct attack. Thus he and Church continued to press on for the relief of the Acropolis, with the untoward results that Karaiskakis was killed on May 4th, and Church and Cochrane were completely defeated before Athens on May 6th. Reshid Pasha put 240 prisoners to death in revenge for the massacre of St. Spiridion. After this defeat, the Acropolis surrendered on June 6th, and, by the intervention of the French Admiral de Rigny, generous terms were granted to the besieged. They were to retire with arms and baggage and be shipped on board French and Austrian vessels. The convention was carried out honourably. Two thousand persons—men, women, and children—marched sadly from the scene of ancient glory to the shore.

The capture of the Acropolis set Reshid free for action in Rumelia, and he cleared the north of Klephts as far as the frontiers

of Thessaly. He might then have marched through the Isthmus of Corinth to assist Ibrahim, but the latter declined his aid. During the winter, Mehmed Ali had exacted hard terms from the Sultan. His enemy Chosrev was required to retire from the post of Kapudan Pasha, and the Kapudan Bey, Tahir, was established in his place. He was to go to Alexandria and receive the orders of Mehmed Pasha, and the island of Crete was placed under him. The command of the whole force in Greece, naval and military, was committed to his adopted son Ibrahim, who was strengthened by reinforcements. Ibrahim landed in Elis, marched to Patras, and was about to take part in the reduction of the Acropolis when he heard of the capitulation. Cochrane, anxious to recover his reputation, made an attack upon Alexandria, which wholly failed. Church found it difficult to reduce the Greek captains to obedience, a number of primates and kapitani either deserting the Greek cause or being lukewarm in its defence.

A Constitution for Greece.

On May 17th, 1827, a Constitution was promulgated by the Assembly at Troezen which, although at first only a piece of paper, contemplated a united Greece, and served as a model for the constitution eventually adopted for the liberated Hellas. It was probably influenced by the Cortes Constitution of 1812.

A senate was established, elected by eparchies, extending over the whole of Greece. The president was responsible, but he had only a suspensive veto over the decrees of the senate. He nominated six ministers or state secretaries, who were responsible to the senate. The yearly meeting of the senate and the duration of its sittings were determined by the Constitution. The senate was elected for three years, with a renewal of a third every year. No one could be a deputy for two successive terms, a very unfortunate provision. This put an end to the idea of a divided or a tributary Greece, such as had been formed by Stratford Canning and the Powers. The news of the Treaty of London reached Nauplia at the end of July. One of its conditions proposed an armistice, and this was agreed to by the Greek Government, which removed to Aegina on August 21st.

The Powers and the Porte.

On August 16th the ambassadors of Great Britain, Russia and France handed to the Reis Effendi the collective note which offered the mediation of the three Powers, and demanded the conclusion of an armistice. The answer was to be given within fourteen days. The Reis Effendi refused to receive the note, and said that the Porte would never suffer any mediation in favour of the Greeks. Again, on August 31st, the ambassadors informed the Reis Effendi that the three Powers would compel the granting of the armistice,

and he made answer that, "To the day of the Last Judgment, the Sublime Porte would never take cognisance of intervention, or armistice, or peace."

The Admirals' Dilemma.

What were the admirals to do now? The Russian admiral, von Heyden, had not yet appeared, so that the responsibility lay upon Codrington and de Rigny. They were ordered to cut off all supplies of soldiers, arms and provisions, between Turkey or Egypt and Greece; to avoid all acts of war, though, as eventualities could not be foreseen, they were allowed a certain liberty of action, and to apply for instructions to the Conference of Ambassadors at Constantinople. This laid down, as the limits of their action, the coast of the Greek continent from the mouth of the Aspropotamo and the Gulf of Volo to the southern point of the Morea, the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago, including Euboea, but excluding Samos and Crete. On Codrington asking Stratford Canning how far he was to oppose force to force, the ambassador told him, on September 1st, that in case of necessity he was to allow his cannon to speak.

Mehmed Ali's Price for Neutrality.

Colonel Cradock, a British officer, had been sent by Canning secretly to Mehmed Ali, to persuade him to refuse his assistance to the Turks, and not to hinder the operations of the Convention of London; but he appeared too late. The grand fleet, with four thousand fresh troops, munitions, money and provisions of all kinds, had already sailed on August 5th, under the command of Tahir, the Kapudan Bey, and Mohassem Ali, Mehmed Ali's son-in-law. Cradock persuaded Mehmed Ali to declare himself and Ibrahim neutral, and Mehmed consented, provided that Arabia and Syria were handed over to him, and his independence were recognised. Cradock did not feel authorised to agree to these terms, although he expected that, if Mehmed Ali made himself independent, Great Britain might then recognise him as such. Mehmed Ali, however, promised to send some warning to Ibrahim.

The Turkish Fleet Enclosed.

The armada entered the harbour of Navarino on September 8th, where it was impatiently expected by Ibrahim. It consisted, probably, of two ships of the line, twelve frigates, twenty corvettes and about a dozen and a half of smaller vessels and fireships, and about forty transports. It gave Ibrahim an overwhelming force, which it was to be feared he would use to deal a long-looked-for and fatal blow at Hydra and Spezzia. Codrington, for his part, without waiting for de Rigny, had sailed in pursuit, and when he heard that it had reached Navarino, he went thither and prepared to blockade it. He informed Ibrahim that the three Powers would carry out the provisions of the Convention of July regardless of

consequences. On September 22nd de Rigny also appeared and, together with Codrington, sent a warning letter to Ibrahim.

An Armistice Arranged.

On the following day Codrington had an interview with Ibrahim, and received the impression that the latter would be glad to meet the views of the Powers, if Mehmed Ali allowed him to do so, but felt bound to have some regard for the suspicions of the Turks around him. On September 25th both admirals had an interview with Ibrahim in his tent, where they found him in the midst of the commanders of the fleet. He eventually gave his word that he would keep the armada in the harbour of Navarino until he could receive instructions from Constantinople and Alexandria. In the meantime he held that he was free to provision distant garrisons like Patras and Crete. The two admirals, content with this assurance, raised the blockade of the harbour, leaving only two warships. From private communications with Ibrahim, de Rigny imagined that, even if the Sultan ordered him to fight, a mere demonstration of the Allies would suffice to secure the withdrawal of the fleet either to Alexandria or the Dardanelles. Codrington was by no means so confident, but felt certain that, in consequence of secret instructions from Mehmed Ali, a month's practical armistice would be gained.

At the same time the Greeks were not disposed to give up the hopes of new conquests. In the second week of September Cochrane had appeared with a squadron before Mesolonghi, and bombarded Fort Vasiladhi. Codrington had heard of the probable landing of troops in Albania, which he and de Rigny thought quite inadmissible, and, on September 25th, they had assured Ibrahim that they would prevent anything that would extend the theatre of the war. At the same time, they said that until the Porte accepted the armistice the Greeks might move as they pleased within the prescribed limits; but Ibrahim was not quite satisfied with this. At any rate, on September 30th Hastings pressed into the Gulf of Patras with a small squadron and annihilated a Turkish flotilla which had anchored in the Bay of Salona.

Codrington Interposes.

On this very day, Mustapha, a vice-admiral of Ibrahim, sailed from Navarino to Patras with a division of the fleet, and Ibrahim followed with a second division. When Codrington heard that Mustapha was approaching, he stopped him with three ships and told him that if he did not return he should fire, and Mustapha retreated. In the night of October 3rd–4th a number of Turkish ships sailed into the harbour of Patras. Codrington hastened thither and opened fire, which they did not return. Ibrahim then sailed back to Navarino. Codrington would have wished to prevent

this and to break up Ibrahim's fleet, sending the Turks to the Dardanelles and the Egyptians to Alexandria, but his force was not adequate. Many of his ships had gone to Malta for provisions, de Rigny was cruising with the French squadron off Cerigo, and Heyden had not yet appeared. The three fleets did not unite until October 13th, when they anchored together before Navarino.

Devastation of the Morea.

Ibrahim was at this time not present. He had received instructions from the Porte to allow of no mediation, but to secure at all hazards the reduction of the Morea, in which Reshid Pasha was to assist him. He had ordered three columns in different directions, and was burning olive groves and vineyards. Hamilton saw from the Gulf of Koroni the columns of smoke rising in the sky, and knew that the soil was being turned into a desert. Accordingly the three admirals sent Ibrahim an ultimatum, demanding the immediate return of the fleet to Alexandria and Constantinople and the cessation of hostilities in the interior. On October 18th they determined to sail into the harbour of Navarino and renew their demands.

The Allied Fleet Enters Navarino.

Codrington must have been aware that there was great likelihood of a battle, but the first shot must not be fired by the Allies. On October 20th, about 2 p.m., the allied fleet began to sail into the harbour of Navarino. Codrington's ship, the *Asia*, leading the way and anchoring opposite the ship of the Kapudan Bey. On his left were two British ships of the line, on his right two French ships, the farther being the frigate, the *Siren*, on which de Rigny flew his flag. Behind him was a second line of British and French ships; the remainder and the whole of the Russian squadron had not yet passed. Codrington had under his command twenty-seven vessels with 1,298 guns, while the Turko-Egyptian fleet numbered sixty vessels with more than 2,000 guns. But in everything except numbers the allied fleet was far superior.

The Turks Open Fire.

Mohassem Bey, who commanded in Ibrahim's absence, ordered Codrington not to enter. But Codrington replied, "I have not come to receive commands, but to give them." Before the allied fleet reached their position, the captain of the *Dartmouth* asked the commander of a Turkish fireship to make room for him to anchor. The request was refused. A boat was sent from the *Dartmouth* to cut the cable of the fireship, and it was received with musket-shots. The *Dartmouth* and the *Siren* replied. Then a cannon-shot was fired against the *Siren*, and the battle became general. The *Asia*, whose pilot had been struck by Turkish bullets, hoisted the signal for action, and her fire destroyed the ships of the Kapudan Bey and Mohassem. She was roughly handled by

the second and third lines of the Turkish fleet, her mizzen mast being cut in two. After three hours the battle was at an end, the major part of the Turkish armada being destroyed. Six thousand of its complement perished, among them nearly all the pupils of Mehmed Ali's school. When the sun rose next day it was seen that the narrow harbour was filled with corpses and that three line-of-battle ships, twenty frigates, and twenty-four corvettes had been wrecked. The Allies lost some 200 killed and wounded. After issuing a proclamation against piracy, the three admirals retired, Codrington to Malta, de Rigny to Smyrna, whilst Heyden remained in the Archipelago.

Rejoicings of the Philhellenes.

The news of the battle at Navarino brought joy to the Philhellenes of all countries. They did not stop to inquire whether what had happened was in accordance with international law, or was likely to precipitate a war between Russia and Turkey. They saw in the event of October 20th only the righteous punishment of deeds of blood-curdling horror and the liberation of the Greeks from the danger of annihilation. Stein wrote to his friend Capodistrias, "The curse of Heaven has fallen upon the rude, stupid Ottoman, and an unhappy, persecuted population will be allowed to breathe again and to hope for a happy future." Schön said, "In the Battle of Navarino, Heaven has for the first time since 1813 spoken with no uncertain voice." Victor Hugo exclaimed, "Greece is free; six years have been avenged in a single day."

The Powers and Navarino.

But the Great Powers were not so well satisfied with the result. Metternich was discouraged. He had hoped much from the death of Canning, and these hopes were now dashed to the ground and the threads of his diplomacy torn asunder. He saw in the disaster the beginning of a new era, in which Constantinople would be blockaded by the fleet and armies of Russia. Gentz called the victory a horrible crime. Bernstorff thought that the peace of the world was endangered by it, and that such a battle, without a previous declaration of war, was the beginning of an epoch of barbarism. At the same time he refused the invitation to act with Metternich.

In London, opinions were divided. The Whigs rejoiced, but the Tories were alarmed. Codrington was made a K.C.B., but was required to explain his conduct. Canning would probably have used the victory to procure the recall of Ibrahim, but similar energy was not to be expected from Lord Goderich. Lieven proposed a blockade of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, but the Ministry hesitated to consent. In Paris the joy was pure and undiluted. The King expressed himself delighted with the victory,

and hoped it would have a good effect upon the approaching elections. The nation was proud of the success of French arms, on which fortune seemed to smile after a long interval. But the greatest jubilation took place in St. Petersburg. The Tsar wrote to congratulate Codrington, and gave him a Russian order. Nesselrode wrote to Tatischev, "What will our friend Metternich say to this unparalleled triumph? He will again chew the cud of his wearisome old principles and dilate upon order and law. Long live force: it rules the world to-day." Lieven in London had a conversation with Huskisson, the friend of Canning, in which he sounded him as to his views, before surprising Dudley and Goderich with the proposal that the Russians should be allowed to occupy the Danubian Principalities with their troops. Huskisson would not encourage him.

Attack on Chios.

The Greeks, carried away with delirious excitement, made no attempt to check piracy, but encouraged it. They had no thoughts of limiting the sphere of the war, but extended their operations in all directions. Fabvier attempted the conquest of Chios, paying no regard to the warnings of the three admirals. With 1,000 regular and 1,500 irregular troops, he landed on the island on October 28th, and drove the Turkish garrison into the citadel. But there his successes came to an end. He had no siege-train or ammunition, and, in spite of warnings from all sides, persisted in the hope that he would eventually force Jusuf Pasha to surrender. In Constantinople the ambassadors of the allied Powers had asked Pertev Pasha, the Reis Effendi, what he would do if hostilities should break out between Ibrahim and the allied fleets. He replied, "No one can give a name to an unborn child whose sex is not known." On November 2nd, when he heard of the battle, he said to the interpreters of the three Powers, "Now that the child is born and its sex known, I can answer the question. I demand satisfaction for the disgraceful act of violence which has been committed on the fleet of the Sultan." A general mobilisation was ordered, the Bosphorus was closed, and ships lying in the harbour of Constantinople were confiscated.

Turkey Demands Compensation.

But the Turkish Government was too weak to run the risk of open rupture, and the Austrian Internuntius attempted to arrange matters. The Porte demanded compensation, an honourable apology, and a promise that there should be no further intervention. The ambassadors threw the responsibility upon the admirals, but laid stress on the demand for an armistice, according to the terms of the Convention of July. They even threatened their departure, in which step they probably exceeded their powers.

Turkey Prepares for War.

On November 24th the ambassadors had an interview with Pertev, in which he appeared to be more yielding, and referred the decision to his master. Sultan Mahmoud said that if the rebels submitted he would release them from the payment of the poll-tax, which had been owing for six years for the payment of the costs of the war, and would excuse them from all payment of taxes for a year. The ambassadors declared this insufficient, and demanded their passports. The Ulemas condemned the weakness of Pertev, and their reproaches were enforced by the arrival of the defeated Tahir. A great divan was held on December 2nd, Mahmoud listening to the discussions behind a curtain. Outside thousands of all ranks surrounded the hall. The divan rejected the proposals of the ambassadors as inconsistent with the Koran, and ordered the arming of the Empire for a defensive war.

Some delay ensued in giving passports to the ambassadors, but eventually Stratford Canning and Guilleminot left Constantinople on December 8th, and Ribeaupierre passed the Dardanelles a week later. The Turks began to arm immediately. On December 20th, 1827, the Grand Vizir issued a proclamation denouncing Russia as "the sworn enemy of Islam and the Moslem people." She had incited the Greeks to rebellion and dragged France and Great Britain with her. He solemnly called upon all believers to join the banner of the Prophet against the unbelievers. The "Franks," who had been placed under the protection of the Dutch minister, were driven out, and thousands of Catholic Armenians, old men, women and children, were driven into Asia in circumstances of great cruelty in the middle of winter.

Russia Prepares for Action.

This action of the Porte was very grateful to the war party in Russia, the success of Paskevich in the war with Persia stimulating their feelings. The Tsar seemed to be drawn with the stream, and Russian troops assembled on the frontiers of the Principalities. In order to explain the attitude of Great Britain and France, a protocol of the London Conference was issued on December 12th, in which they renounced any exclusive commercial privileges or accession of territory, even if war should break out with Turkey. On January 6th, 1828, Nesselrode wrote to Lieven proposing that the three Powers should issue a manifesto that the Russian troops should enter the Principalities and not pause until the Porte had granted all the demands of the London Conference; that the three fleets should act together before Alexandria, Constantinople, and the coasts of the Morea, and establish order in Greece; that Capodistrias should be assisted by a loan; that the three ambassadors, who had been engaged in Constantinople,

should be sent to the Archipelago, and that, if this ultimatum should be rejected, the Russian armies should cross the Pruth. The Tsar said that he awaited with impatience the answer of his allies, to whom he had given new evidence of his moderation, uprightness, and unselfishness, and that they should regard any interference of other Powers as inconsistent with their dignity. This last stroke was directed against Metternich.

Duke of Wellington Prime Minister.

Indeed, the hope of Metternich that he would be able to arrange matters at Constantinople proved futile. The New Year did not break happily for him. He found himself in a "world of delusion," and said that the spirit of Liberalism which had recently appeared in all its nakedness was responsible for the mischief. His hopes were raised by the Duke of Wellington succeeding Lord Goderich as Prime Minister on January 8th, 1828. Huskisson remained in the Cabinet as Colonial Secretary, but Eldon retired, as Peel came back, and Dudley returned to the Foreign Office. Although the retention of Canning's friends gave some guarantee for the maintenance of his policy, it was known that Wellington did not agree with it. Metternich hoped that the cause of right would find a supporter in Wellington, and Gentz that he would perform his duties with wisdom and prudence. The King's Speech of January 29th characterised the Battle of Navarino as an "untoward event."

Change of Ministry in France.

In Paris a change of ministry also took place. On January 4th Villèle made way for Martignac, and Laferronays became Foreign Minister. But Metternich was disappointed in him, for he demanded the unconditional fulfilment of the Convention of July and did not object to the occupation of the Principalities by Russia, if it were accompanied by the occupation of the Morea by the Western Powers or the French. Gentz complained that the confidant of the Tsar was possessed by the most foolish ideas, and that France submitted herself to the leading of St. Petersburg. Laferronays had some hope to strengthen the Triple Alliance by the accession of Prussia, but Nicholas would not hear of it.

Dudley's Reply.

Dudley's answer to the Russian Note was given on March 6th. He would not allow that a general attack on the Turkish possessions should be made to enforce the conditions of the July Convention, saying that the march of armies after so long a peace might produce incalculable effects. He disapproved of the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia and of moving the fleets to Constantinople, and could not allow such an extreme measure as the blockad of Alexandria in order to hasten the withdrawal of Ibrahim fror the Morea. If this were done, the Greeks might co-operate wit

the three Powers to set free the rest of the territory to which the convention referred. He thought that the limits of the Greek frontiers might be more restricted than had been proposed by the ambassadors at Constantinople in August, 1827.

Russia Willing to Act Alone.

This answer crossed a memorandum of Nesselrode's, dated February 26th, 1828, which stated that the condition of things was now altered. The destruction of Russian commerce by the blockade of the Bosphorus, the compulsory sale of Russian corn-freights, the expulsion of Russian subjects; above all, the proclamation of the Grand Vizir of December 20th, 1827, showed that the Porte was determined to tear up the Treaty of Akkerman and the other treaties made with Russia during the last fifty years. The Porte had used her influence with the Shah of Persia to break the peace which Paskevich had extorted from him. Russia, he said, had no choice but to take up the challenge and obtain justice by arms. The coming war would be a war neither of religion nor of conquest, but it must give Russia satisfaction for the past and security for the future. A secondary effect of it might be to secure the fulfilment of the Convention of the three Powers which had undertaken the cause of Greece. Great Britain and France might take their choice whether they would support Russia materially or morally. If they did neither, Russia would consult her own interests.

Metternich's Effort for Peace.

Metternich made a desperate attempt to secure peace, by proposing, on March 15th, that independence should be granted to the Morea and the islands. He could hardly have expected to be successful. He said in his Note, "There are moments in the course of human affairs when the strongest will must submit to the commands of necessity. It is a fact that causes, revolutionary in their origin, have often triumphed, and that the strongest and most enlightened governments have had to compromise with obvious usurpation. If the independence of a part of Greece, with all the evil and danger which will follow in its train, is the indispensable condition of the maintenance of the peace of Europe, we must no longer hesitate to accede to it." The answer to this was easy. Wellington declared that the proposal was not in accordance either with the demands of justice or the conditions of the London Convention; and the Tsar replied, "You are deserting your stronghold; you are setting the rebels a bad example. So far as I am concerned, I detest the Greeks, although they are my co-religionists. They have behaved disgracefully. I always regard them as insurgents, and I will not agree to their liberation."

Nicholas was bent on war. His brother Constantine in vain

urged him to avoid it, and Paskevich sent word that Persia had accepted his conditions, that his frontiers had been pushed back to the Araxes, and the Caspian Sea had become a Russian lake. Dudley's answer to Nesselrode's note of February 26th was not very encouraging. The British Cabinet regretted that Russia was going to war, and, as signatories of the July Convention, they could not approve of, much less take part in, an invasion of Turkey. They pointed out that the concert of the three allied Powers would now become difficult, but did not question the right of the Tsar to determine at what point his interests must be settled by the sword. They added that the most complete success in the most righteous cause could not excuse the strong from demanding sacrifices from the weak, which would endanger their political position or destroy their territorial possessions, on the basis of which rested the general peace of Europe. Vienna spoke more strongly. The Emperor Francis wrote to Nicholas that to kindle the flame of war at such a time was to load oneself with the heaviest responsibility, and to threaten the world with a burden of evil which would throw into the shade the horrors of the French Revolution.

Declaration of War.

These warnings and prophecies fell in St. Petersburg upon deaf ears. At this time, Prince William of Prussia, the future Emperor, was on a visit to St. Petersburg, attended by Leopold von Gerlach, and heard, as early as April 10th, that the Emperor was contemplating his departure to the army. A few days later General Diebich said to him, " If we come to the Balkans, and win a battle at Adrianople, why should we not capture Constantinople by *coup de main?*" The formal declaration of war was carried on April 26th. Metternich expressed the view that the Porte had only the choice between death and prolonged agony. This would resemble the second Punic War, and give the Sultan's power the death-blow. Gentz prophesied that Turkey would in three months lie at the feet of the conquerors. " This war will either be the last, or the last but one, which Russia will have to wage against the Porte: the last but one if the Sultan submit in the first or second act of the tragedy; the last if he await the third act."

CHAPTER XVII

THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR, 1828-9

The Powers Favour Russia.

THE war now undertaken by Russia against Turkey, which might have the effect of making the Black Sea a Russian lake, of developing largely the resources of Southern Russia, and perhaps of securing to Russia the possession of Constantinople, did not apparently cause any great excitement in Europe, or stir the Powers to the defence of the Sultan. France was well disposed to Russia, and Laferronays was assured by Nesselrode and Pozzo di Borgo that France should not be excluded from any advantages which might eventually arise from the course Russia was now taking. The Duc de Montemart succeeded Laferronays as French Ambassador in St. Petersburg. His instructions spoke of the danger of a general European conflagration. From fear of this the King of France would not enter the field, but would assure Russia of his moral support. It was necessary to consider what compensation France would expect if there should be a partition of European Turkey. If Russia were to incorporate the Danubian Provinces together with conquests in Asia, if Austria were to lay her hand upon Servia and Roumania, and Great Britain were to confirm her position in the Archipelago, ought not France to strengthen herself by the acquisition of Belgium or some other neighbouring territory? On this point Montemart was ordered to sound Nicholas. The war would naturally be followed by a congress, and in this Russia must support the righteous and reasonable claims of France. If this could not be done, France might assert herself in arms.

Wellington had some inkling of this possibility, and he felt it necessary to act cautiously, so as not to throw France entirely into the arms of Russia. At the same time, he objected to sending supplies of money to the Greeks, and still more to undertaking a common expedition to the Morea. He was ready to bring about the fulfilment of the London Convention by peaceful means. A breach, however, took place in the Cabinet. Huskisson and the other Canningites left the Ministry, and Wellington was able to form a pure Tory Government. Dudley was succeeded by Lord Aberdeen, who was an enemy of the Triple Alliance, and assured Lieven that Great Britain could not make the settlement of the

Greek question dependent upon the issue of the Russo-Turkish War, and warned him of the danger of disturbing the equilibrium of Europe.

French Help for Greece.

But he renewed with him and Polignac the discussions about the fate of Greece, which had been interrupted for several months. A protocol of June 15th determined that Stratford Canning, Guilleminot and Ribeaupierre should meet representatives of the Greeks in Corfu and discuss the best means of carrying out the London Convention. On July 19th Aberdeen gave his approval to the dispatch of a French corps to the Morea, in order to compel the departure of the Egyptians by a land blockade. Austria was too weak internally to take any decided step, and Prussia felt that neutrality was necessary for her prosperity. The King refused to assist his son-in-law with arms, and forbade his son, Prince William, to take part in the war. Russia had nothing to fear from a joint opposition of Austria and Prussia.

Opening of the Russo-Turkish Campaign.

The Russian army crossed the Pruth on May 7th, 1828. Jassy and Bucharest were speedily occupied, and the two Principalities were placed under a Russian Governor-General. The plan of campaign was to cross the Danube, to occupy the most important places on the coast of the Dobrudsha and in Northern Bulgaria. When Braila and Silistria, Varna and Shumla had fallen, the Russians would press on across the passes of the Balkans and might attempt an attack on Constantinople, a movement which would be supported by the Russian fleet.

These schemes did not meet with a ready fulfilment. The Danube was not crossed till June 8th, and Braila did not fall till June 17th. The Russians then occupied the whole country from the mouth of the Danube to the wall of Trajan, and obtained a valuable harbour in Kustendje. The advance into Bulgaria proceeded slowly, as the Russians had not enough soldiers. The occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia and the siege of Silistria employed 23,000 men, and only 40,000 men, with 194 guns, were left for the attack upon Varna and Shumla. The Tsar had to give up the attack on Varna for the moment and confine himself to Shumla, which was defended by 40,000 men, well supplied with provisions. The siege of Varna proceeded slowly, and Silistria held out. In a series of engagements before Varna, fought in the last five days of September, in which Prince Eugene of Wurtemberg highly distinguished himself, the Turks were on the whole victorious, but Omer Brionis did not follow up his advantage, and Varna fell on October 12th. But the Russians had gained only a very partial success. The sieges of Shumla and Silistria were given up,

and there could be no thought of an advance on Constantinople. The brilliant successes of the Russian arms in Asia, which gave them Poti and Kars and a large portion of Asia Minor, did not compensate for their comparative failure in Europe, and a second campaign was necessary for the passage of the Balkans.

Metternich's Renewed Efforts for Peace.

Metternich was delighted. He compared the failure before Silistria with that before Moscow in 1812; only, he said, there was here no genius to make the disaster good. He tried his utmost to make peace, and to bring about an intervention of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain and France. He had little comfort in Prussia. He found Prince William more Russian than the Emperor Nicholas himself, and ascribed his partiality to the belief that the victory of Russia would bring aggrandisement and conquests to Prussia. He discovered that all Prussian Liberals were on the side of Russia. In his sight the brothers Humboldt were the scourge of Europe. Henry von Bülow, the son-in-law of William von Humboldt, belonged to the same faction. Metternich fixed his hopes on the King, the Crown Prince, and on Bernstorff. He said, "So long as Bernstorff lives Prussian policy will have the same character as the Austrian."

Wellington's Unpopularity.

Great Britain was in a peculiar position. Admiral Heyden received orders to blockade the Dardanelles, and Admiral Grieg to shut up the Bosphorus. This was a serious blow to British trade, and the British Press clamoured against this exhibition of Russian perfidy. But neither Wellington nor Aberdeen was prepared to prevent it, and Wellington lost in popularity. Wellington would have been very glad if the engagements of the London Conference could have been brought to an end, and he could have been free to come to an understanding with France, a sentiment that was not unreciprocated on the banks of the Seine. The expedition to the Morea had fulfilled its object. The London Conference had agreed, on November 16th, that at least the Morea, the neighbouring islands, and the Cyclades should be placed under the guarantee of the three Powers, while the final settlement of the Greek frontiers should wait for the present. Nesselrode consented to this, but would not assent to France and Great Britain approaching the Porte by themselves, although it was pointed out that, as Russia was at war with the Porte, she was not likely to be listened to. It was agreed that, in any case, the future constitution of Greece, its limits, its position towards the Sultan, and its internal organisation, should be approved by the Tsar. Under these conditions Nesselrode agreed to the separate action of Great Britain and France, although very unwillingly.

THE TSAR'S ANGER WITH METTERNICH

Metternich's Proposals for a Conference.

Metternich now conceived the plan of a common intervention between Russia and Turkey. He began to talk of the military strength of Austria, suggesting the possibility of an armed intervention. She could put under arms 400,000 men within a month; her *Landwehr* was as good as the Prussian, whereas in reality it did not exist. Gentz said, "If the Tsar desires peace, he must surrender all idea of compensation. We know the Sultan well enough to know that it is no good asking for anything which goes beyond the former treaties. It is possible he may demand that the Russians shall recross the Pruth before he listens to any negotiations." Austria wished to convey the impression of a coming ultimatum, but Metternich knew in his heart how much of this was bluff. If he had the men, which he certainly had not, he had not the money. So he fell back upon the suggestion of a congress. He said to Laval Montmorency, the French Ambassador in Vienna, "I am the patron of congresses." But he desired that the proposal for a congress should not proceed from Vienna, but from Constantinople, and should be regarded in Europe as a sign of "progressive Turkish civilisation." The Internuntius, as the Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople was called, was instructed to press this matter on the Reis Effendi. But Bernstorff would hear nothing of these plans, Wellington was opposed to them, and Laferronays was too cautious to fall into Metternich's net, saying that his Sovereign would never join in a common step against the Tsar. He rejected the idea of a congress, unless it was likely to bring some advantage to France.

Russian Resentment.

It may be supposed that the representatives of Russia did not regard Metternich's policy with satisfaction. Pozzo di Borgo represented him, both in Paris and London, as the most accomplished mischief-maker. In France he had encouraged the Bonapartists by raising hopes of the succession of the Duke of Reichstadt; in Italy he stirred up the King of Sardinia against the Bourbons and the Prince of Carignan; in Constantinople, he supported the obstinacy of the Sultan. Pozzo advised his master to renew the war with spirit in order to force Austria either to advise the Turks to submit, or, by assisting them, to bring destruction upon herself. The Tsar needed no stimulus to increase his wrath. He charged Austria with every kind of secret enmity. He believed that she was plotting a coalition against Russia, and Tatischev was ordered to demand explanations.

To calm their apprehensions, General Count Ficquelmont was sent from Vienna, in January, 1829, with an autograph letter of the Emperor Francis addressed to the Tsar. The Tsar said, "I

place confidence in everything which comes from the Emperor, but others [meaning Metternich] come in between us." He did not wish to destroy the Turkish Empire, which would fall of itself; but that, if the Turks would not listen to reason he would press on to Constantinople. He did not desire the city for himself, but would not ask the Sultan to take it back again; it was desirable to anticipate those who wished to seize the inheritance of "the Sick Man." Ficquelmont represented to him the dangerous condition of France, but the Tsar replied that, until the crisis of the East was settled in a manner worthy of Russia he could not divert his attention to the affairs of the West. Nesselrode said that Russia must first have an honourable and advantageous peace in her pocket before she could attempt to deal with the revolutionary spirit in the West of Europe; but the miserable policy of Austria had never ceased since the beginning of the war to put difficulties in the way of Russia. Metternich found himself beaten, and sent a note to London, Paris and Berlin to say that he had never desired an intervention of the four Powers, and that his words had been mistaken.

The Powers' Proposals to Turkey.

On January 2nd, 1829, Laferronays, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was struck by paralysis, and was succeeded by Portalis, which brought no change in the situation. Charles X. had wished for Polignac, but the other ministers refused to work with him. On March 22nd a new protocol was issued as the fruit of the London Conference. The Greeks were to cease operations at the Isthmus of Corinth; but Northern Greece, from the Gulf of Volo to the Gulf of Arta, together with Euboea and other islands, were to form part of their half-sovereign State. They were to pay tribute of one and a half million piastres, but none for the first four years. The government was to be a species of monarchy with a tributary feudal prince, hereditary, and Christian, but not drawn from the reigning families of Russia, Great Britain or France, and to be chosen by agreement between the three Powers and the Porte. Both nationalities were to have liberty to retire and set their property in order within a year. These were the bases upon which the ambassadors of Great Britain and France came to negotiate at Constantinople, speaking also in the name of Russia. Turkey was not likely to accept these terms, unless they were made a part of the conditions of peace.

The Campaign of 1829.

Energetic preparations were made on both sides for the campaign of 1829. Diebich was made Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces, and the departure of the Emperor from headquarters left him a free hand. On the Turkish side, Omer Brionis

was deprived of his command, and Mehmed Selim, the Grand Vizir, was replaced by Izzet Pasha, who had defended Varna. But as he allowed, on February 15th, 1829, the Russians to seize the port of Sisebulo (Sozopolis) by *coup de main* he was deposed and Reshid Pasha appointed in his room. Attempts were made to form an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria, and territory in Moldavia and Wallachia was offered as a bait. But Metternich gave a decisive refusal, advising the Porte to make peace with Russia as soon as possible, to surrender Anapa and Poti, and allow Russia a protectorate over the Danubian Principalities in addition to certain commercial advantages. This advice was rejected by the Sultan with equal decision. Diebich crossed the Danube in the beginning of May and began the siege of Silistria. In the meantime, Reshid Pasha had collected a large and well-disciplined army at Shumla, but in a battle at Kulevscha on June 11th, 1829, he was completely defeated. His army was not, however, destroyed, and Diebich had not sufficient force to cross the Balkans until Silistria had fallen. He began, therefore, to think of peace, and the military operations were discontinued.

Disastrous Effects of the War in Russia.

On June 18th, a week after the victory of Kulevscha, the French and British Ambassadors returned to Constantinople. Guilleminot kept his old post, but Stratford Canning was replaced by Sir Robert Gordon, brother of Lord Aberdeen. The Porte would not listen to any proposals for peace. They were convinced that Nicholas desired to turn the Turks out of Europe, and, besides, they had hopes of victory. But Russia was sincerely desirous of peace. The continuance of the war was disastrous to her southern provinces, and recruiting went on slowly. As the Sultan made no sign, the Tsar looked round for a possible mediator. Great Britain and Austria were regarded as impossible, being too favourable to Turkey, while the Turks would consider the French too favourable to Russia. Prussia alone remained. A note from Nesselrode declared that the King of Prussia would do his master a great service by inducing the Sultan to open up negotiations for peace, while a letter from the Tsar to Frederick William III. gave the assurance that the Russian terms would be moderate. A meeting between the two sovereigns was arranged.

Meeting of the Tsar and King of Prussia.

Nicholas was at the time being crowned at Warsaw; but, to the disgust of the Poles, not with the true Polish crown. He arranged to meet his father-in-law at Sibyllenort in Silesia. But Frederick William was taken ill and could not attempt the journey, so the Tsar made a sudden journey to Berlin, where he arrived on June 6th, just as Prince William was being married to Princess

Augusta of Weimar. In the event General Müffling was sent to Constantinople. He was head of the general staff, and had been attached to Wellington during the Waterloo campaign. This mission was announced to the Powers in a circular note, dated July 5th, but it was not altogether approved of. Russia did not like the employment of another German in her affairs; one, Diebich, was quite enough. Aberdeen wrote to Wellington that Prussia would not hesitate to surrender to Russia the independence of Europe if she could get any advantage out of it; and Wellington regarded Müffling as a mere agent of the Tsar, dispatched by the King of Prussia to save appearances. France was the only Power which candidly supported the step. The relations both of Austria and Great Britain towards Russia became strained. Russia took precautions against an Austrian invasion, and Wellington positively hated Lieven.

Surrender of Adrianople.

The war, however, continued. Silistria fell on June 29th, and Diebich was able to cross the Balkans, an operation which he completed on July 24th, after nine days' march. On August 19th he lay before Adrianople with less than 20,000 men. Adrianople had 80,000 inhabitants, of whom many thousands were Mohammedans, capable of bearing arms, and about 15,000 Turkish soldiers had collected in the place after the recent battle. Notwithstanding, the town surrendered without a struggle. The troops had to give up their arms, colours and cannon, and were allowed to go where they wished, excepting to Constantinople. On August 20th Diebich fixed his headquarters in the former seraglio of the Sultan.

Russian Successes in Asia.

Müffling had arrived at Constantinople on August 4th, but found the Turkish cabinet very stubborn. All he could obtain was the consent of the Sultan to negotiate with regard to Greece on the basis of the London Convention. This was received with satisfaction by Guilleminot and Gordon, though the arrangement was confined to the Morea and the Cyclades. The Sultan, however, felt himself hardly pressed. One Job's post after another reached him from the seat of war in Asia. Paskevich had taken Erzeroum, and the way to Trebizond lay open to him. On August 9th he had the banner of the Prophet carried into the camp above the Bosphorus, but it produced no effect. The massacre of the janizaries had damped enthusiasm. Conspiracies began to break out, and, if the Russians reached Constantinople, his life would be in danger. The same fear worked upon the Powers, especially Great Britain, which would rather go to war with Russia than see Constantinople in her hands.

PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE

Negotiations for Peace.

The result was that on August 17th the Sultan empowered Müffling to seek an interview with Diebich for the discussion of peace. Just then came the news of Adrianople. The Reis Effendi asked for the advice of Gordon, Guilleminot and Müffling. Negotiators of high rank were sent to Diebich, saying that the Sultan would leave the indemnity to be settled by the magnanimity of the Tsar. Müffling also sent a messenger to Diebich, begging him to pause. His last act was to advise the liberation of some Russian merchants and prisoners of war, and the sending of an embassy to St. Petersburg to beg for generous terms of peace. He returned home on September 5th, his mission having been a brilliant success.

The Turkish negotiators met at Adrianople with Count Alexis Orloff and Count Pahlen, who had been dispatched from St. Petersburg to make peace. They brought the draft of a treaty, which was to be unconditionally accepted. The negotiators said that they could not possibly do this without consulting the Sultan, and Diebich granted a delay of five days, adding that unless he received a satisfactory answer in that time he would enforce it in Constantinople with the sword.

Pitiable Condition of the Russian Army.

Russian troops were placed on the road to the capital. The Turks were in great embarrassment. The Reis Effendi had recourse to the ambassadors of France and Great Britain, and besides them more especially to Royer, the representative of Prussia. They advised submission, but sent to Diebich begging him to stay his march. As a fact, he was in a very bad way, and not at all in a position to capture Constantinople. Deducting the 8,000 troops he had dispatched towards the capital, he had only 5,000 left before the city, and could not expect reinforcements for some time. His army was decimated by fever, scurvy and dysentery, and plague threatened to break out. His great hospital held, on September 1st, 3,600 sick, who had no attendants, medicine, or linen, and not even enough straw. His wretched condition must soon become manifest. Mustapha, the Pasha of Scutari, was marching from Sophia, by way of Philippopolis, with 30,000 Albanians, and the Grand Vizir held firmly the camp of Shumla. Royer did Diebich a great service when he promised the Turks to make peace.

Peace of Adrianople.

The Peace of Adrianople was signed on September 14th, 1829. It was extremely favourable to Russia. Turkey lost a large domain in Asia. The Pruth and the southern arm of the Danube remained the boundary of Russia, but the Porte undertook to leave the southern bank of the Danube uncultivated for a considerable distance, so that the Russians could cross it when they

pleased. The Porte was to pay 11,500,000 Dutch ducats, and Russia was to occupy the Principalities and Silistria until this debt should be wiped off. Russian merchant-ships were allowed a free passage through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and this was extended to all nations at peace with the Porte.

With regard to the affairs of Greece the Porte gave its adhesion to the London Protocol of March 22nd, 1829, and promised to come to terms with the representatives of Russia, Great Britain, and France as to the best means of carrying it out. Hospodars for life were to be appointed in Moldavia and Wallachia; all Turkish places on the left bank of the Danube were to be evacuated and all fortresses razed, and Mohammedans were not to have permanent residence in the Principalities.

Russia's Advantage.

By the treaty the influence of Russia in the East was confirmed, her frontiers were strengthened, and her commerce was secured. She had destroyed the last ties between Turkey and the Principalities, and, without annexing them, obtained complete control over them, and she had loaded Turkey with a debt she could not pay. Nesselrode said of the treaty, "Turkey henceforth will be compelled to live under Russian protection and to lend an ear to Russia; this will be much more in accordance with our political and commercial interests than any new conditions that would have compelled us to extend our domains by conquest, or to permit other States to take the place of the Turkish Empire, which would soon have become our rivals in power, cultivation, and riches." This programme had been carefully considered in the councils of the Tsar. Nesselrode said, on September 22nd, "Before everything we must decide on what is natural and what is not. The idea of driving the Turks out of Europe, and establishing the worship of the true God in Hagia Sophia is certainly very fine, but what will Russia gain by it? Doubtless glory, but at the same time the loss of all the advantages which she obtains by the neighbourhood of a State weakened by many wars, and she will also run the risk of inevitable conflicts with the great Powers of Europe." This conclusion was arrived at by a committee which sat at St. Petersburg under the presidency of Count Cocubej. It was influenced by the change of ministry in France, Martignac having been succeeded on August 8th by Polignac, who was likely to agree with Metternich and Wellington. They felt that the destruction of the Turkish power in Europe was not for the true interests of Russia. The signing of the Treaty of Adrianople put an end to all schemes for the partition of European Turkey.

POLIGNAC'S "GREAT PLAN"

This caused great disappointment at Paris, where the French had looked for an increase of territory. In the spring of 1829 General Richemont had published a pamphlet in which he said, "What the Danube is for Russia the Rhine is for France." He claimed for France not only the Rhine, but Belgium and Luxembourg. Prussia was to have Saxony; Austria, Silesia and Eastern Hanover; Holland, Western Hanover and Oldenburg. Bavaria was to have Salzburg, to compensate for the loss of the Palatinate; Austria, Servia, Bosnia and Albania; Great Britain, Crete. He thought that this could only be brought about by a war in which Prussia, France and Russia were ranged against Great Britain and Austria, but he did not fear its result. This pamphlet was published just when Polignac had become minister, and had an enormous sale.

French Disappointment.

Polignac had a plan of his own, known as "the Great Plan." Russia was to have Moldavia, Wallachia, and large possessions in Asia Minor; Austria's share was Servia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The rest of European Turkey, including Greece and the islands of the Archipelago, was to be formed into a kingdom of Greece with Constantinople as its capital, and given to the King of the Netherlands. The remains of the Turkish Empire might be left to Mehmed Ali, including Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli. Holland being unoccupied, Great Britain was to have her colonies, Prussia Holland itself, together with Saxony; and Saxony was to have the Rhine provinces of Prussia, with a capital at Aachen. France was to receive Landau, Saarbrücken and Saarlouis; Belgium, Luxembourg, Zeeland and North Brabant. This was the plan of territorial reorganisation proposed by Polignac, but how was it to be brought about—by a congress or a secret treaty with Russia? Its author declared for the latter, but saw that it might produce a war in which Russia, France, Prussia and Bavaria should be ranged against Austria and Great Britain. Polignac's plan was approved of by the King and the Council, and Montemart was ordered to sound Nicholas with regard to it. But when it reached him the Treaty of Adrianople was already signed.

Polignac's New Map of Europe.

Prussia, however, disclaimed any idea of surrendering the Rhine provinces, and expressed her delight at the conclusion of the treaty. The feeling in Austria was very different. The Emperor Francis reminded the Tsar that the enemies of order and society would be encouraged by the hostile attitude of Russia towards Turkey. The Peace of Adrianople might disappoint their commercial designs. It was natural that Austria should regard

Prussia and Russia.

a commanding position of Russia at the mouths of the Danube and in the Principalities as a menace to herself. Metternich said that Russia had seized her prey and would not let it go, and told his Emperor that the affairs of the East would not have led to so untoward a result had the financial and military resources of Austria been in a better condition. But he congratulated himself on the peace, as the war might have produced worse consequences. Gentz looked to the future with fear and trembling, and lamented the disruption of the Great Alliance. Metternich contemplated its restoration as a bulwark against the moral pest which would prove the destruction of Europe. He tried to stimulate Prussia and France to the renewal of the Triple Alliance, but without effect.

Great Britain and the Treaty.

Wellington wrote to Aberdeen that it was foolish to think of supporting the Turkish power in Europe. It would have been better if the Russians had taken Constantinople, as the Turkish Empire would then have been partitioned by the great Powers. Aberdeen expressed the same opinion to his friends. They dreaded the success of Russian power, and felt they had suffered a moral defeat. Their opinions were private, and the only public step was to write a dispatch to the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg severely criticising the treaty, a dispatch which remained secret till the outbreak of the Crimean War. A plan was now formed for guaranteeing the Turkish possessions in Europe by the five great Powers. Wellington and Aberdeen suggested this, and Metternich would gladly have complied, but Russia refused to take any such step. Nesselrode pointed out that Turkey was exposed to two dangers, internal and external. Against the first—the misgovernment or rebellion of the Pashas—no guarantee would be of any service. External dangers could only come from Russia, and why should Russia be asked to assure guarantees against herself? Besides, the inviolability of Turkey was already guaranteed by the Treaty of Adrianople.

The Tsar's Magnanimity.

Nicholas took up a magnanimous attitude towards Turkey by reducing the amount of indemnity she had to pay. This was done by a treaty signed in April, 1830. The indemnity was reduced to 8,000,000 ducats, to be paid in eight years, and partly in kind. The Principalities were to be evacuated as soon as the Russian subjects living there were compensated, and Silistria alone was to remain in Russian hands. Another 1,000,000 ducats was remitted as a reward for the accession of the Porte to the London Conference, which decided the fate of Greece. All this gave Nicholas great influence in the counsels of the Sultan. Orloff and

Ribeaupierre stood at the head of the diplomatic body in the Golden Horn. The aged Chosrev was of opinion that the welfare of Turkey depended on the support of Russia. His adopted son Chalil, who was devoted to the Tsar, was made Kapudan Pasha, and Hamid Bey, who was also a Russophil, became Reis Effendi. It was evident to Europe that the triumph of Russia at the Porte was even greater in peace than it had been in war.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE

Capodistrias's Tour.

THE arrival of the new President, Capodistrias, was anxiously expected in Greece, but it was first necessary that he should make the tour of Europe. At St. Petersburg the Tsar released him from his service, but gave him instructions that he was on no account to favour the independence of Greece. She was to remain subject to the suzerainty of Turkey, an arrangement which was entirely opposed to the Constitution of Troezen. In Lisbon he found public opinion wholly changed since Canning's death. When he reached London, George IV. would hardly look at him. In Paris his reception was better, although Charles X. regarded him as a rogue and a revolutionist. In Turin he announced the welcome news of the Battle of Navarino. He arrived at Malta on board of a British man-of-war, sent him by Sir Edward Codrington, and, accompanied by a Russian and a French ship, reached Nauplia on January 19th, 1828, where the foreign vessels saluted the Greek flag for the first time. On January 24th he landed at Aegina, the seat of the provisional Government and the Senate.

Unfitness of Capodistrias.

In many respects Capodistrias was not suited for his mission. He was accustomed to the life of drawing-rooms and a regular government, but in Aegina he lived within four bare walls and had to deal with a crowd of unruly rebels. He was full of devotion to the cause and absolutely unselfish, but he was unacquainted with the details of government and totally ignorant of military affairs. His experience in aristocratic Russia unfitted him to deal with the unbridled democracy around him. He thought that the only course open to him was the establishment of a dictatorship. Of the state of things in Aegina he said, "The public revenues are plundered, commerce and industry have ceased to exist, agriculture is at an end. The peasant has ceased to sow because he does not know if he will ever reap, or if he will be able to protect his harvest against the rapacity of the soldiers. The merchant in the towns is afraid of pirates. Robbery is protected by murder, and the right of the strongest alone prevails." He informed the Senate privately that the one condition of his remaining would be the suspension of the Constitution. The Senate resigned, and in their

place was established a Panhellenion, a deliberative body, divided into three sections, for finance, home affairs, and war. George Konduriotti, Andrew Zaimis and Peter Mavromichalis were respectively placed at the head of these departments.

Capodistrias as President.

Capodistrias employed Spiridion Tricoupis, Zographos and Klonaris as secretaries, while Mavrocordatos assisted him without a definite office, and he could depend upon the support of Kolokotronis. He had, in fact, no rival of importance to fear. Greece was devoid of funds. At the beginning of the war with Turkey, Russia contributed about a million and a half of roubles, and France paid 500,000 francs a month; but it was uncertain how long this would last, and the negotiation of a third loan was impossible. The army was in a wretched state, consisting almost entirely of half-civilised Kapitans and Palikars and Rumeliot mercenaries, who were little better than brigands. As to the fleet, after Cochrane had returned to England, in January, 1828, it was almost impossible to keep down piracy. Viaro Capodistrias, the brother of the President, who took Cochrane's place, was a complete failure.

Capodistrias did not understand the needs or the characteristics of the country. He encouraged the planting of potatoes, for which the soil of Greece was not adapted. The mulberry trees and chestnuts, which he supplied, were destroyed by the carelessness of the shepherds. He collected the demoralised boy-servants of the Palikars, and the half-naked offspring of the camps, into a school at Aegina, where they were clothed and fed and taught, according to the methods of Lancaster. He told Eynard that these men were to be civilised, not by the bayonet, but by the spade. He bought agricultural machines in Switzerland, and slates and slate pencils in Malta. He made a great mistake in suppressing the demes and introducing a centralised authority.

Ibrahim Pasha Recalled from Greece.

Ibrahim could not be induced to leave the Morea, but collected 20,000 men at Navarino, and occupied Koroni, Modon and Patras. "I will not stir from here," he said, "so long as I have a dog or a cat, without positive orders from the Sultan or my father." Outside the Morea things were not better. Hastings was killed in the storming of Anatoliko, and Church was compelled to abandon the siege of Mesolonghi. In the circumstances the outbreak of the war between Russia and the Porte was a comfort.

On August 6th, 1828, a treaty was signed with Mehmed Ali at Alexandria, by which Ibrahim was recalled from Greece. Codrington, too, was recalled and accused of having exceeded his instructions, for Wellington and Aberdeen were not favourable

to his views. Now came the French expedition to the Morea. On August 30th, General Maison landed 14,000 men between Koroni and Patras, and, at the same time, the Egyptian fleet, which was to take Ibrahim back, anchored before Modon. Ibrahim, pressed by the admirals of the Allies, began to embark, and, on September 16th, 5,000 of his soldiers sailed to Alexandria, accompanied by the allied fleet, but he himself did not leave until October 5th. The French, free to clear the Morea of Turks, encountered no difficulties. The garrisons made little or no resistance, and in a short time there was not a single Mohammedan left in the Morea.

The French in Greece.

The French found the Greeks very different from what they expected. Grecian girls preferred Egyptian harems to liberty. An eye-witness reports that the most salient characteristic of the Greeks was their hatred of the foreigner and their passion for stealing. The French army, decimated with fever, prepared to leave the Morea and to fight on the other side of the Isthmus, but was prevented by the action of Great Britain. The London Conference, of November 16th, 1828, confined liberated Greece to the Morea, the neighbouring islands, and the Cyclades, and the French were obliged to return in the spring of 1829. A French brigade under General Schneider, however, remained in Modon and Navarino, and assistance in money and officers came from Paris. The engineers, the artillery, and the military school at Nauplia were aided by the French. They did as much as they could, in the circumstances, to help the Hellenic cause, and deserved the gratitude of Capodistrias.

Greeks Again Active.

The Russian War now began to be of great assistance to the Grecian cause. The best officers having been recalled by the Sultan to defend the Balkans, Demetrius Ypsilanti took Salona at the end of 1828, Thebes was blockaded and Helicon and Parnassus were occupied. Church began to make way in the west, and Greek cruisers to sail in the Gulf of Arta. In May the Greek flag floated above the ruins of Anatoliko and Mesolonghi. On September 24th, 1829, Ypsilanti defeated a body of Albanians at Petra, and all Greece up to the Gulf of Volo was free from Turkish garrisons excepting the Acropolis at Athens and a fort opposite Chalcis in Euboea.

The London Protocol of March 22nd, 1829, had extended the frontiers of Greece to the Gulfs of Volo and Arta, but it had also required the withdrawal of Greek troops inside the Isthmus of Corinth. Capodistrias could not comply with this. He had already sent Coletti to Samos to assist the island in its rebellion against the Turks, and the Philhellene Baron Rheineck to encourage the

insurgents in Crete. Unfortunately, the Allies in the London Conference refused to allow Crete to be included in the Greek kingdom, and none of the great Powers would accept the island as a gift. Capodistrias was compelled, therefore, to recall Rheineck in September, 1829. The jealousies and quarrels between the Grecian leaders continued: Church broke with the President in the summer of 1829, and Ypsilanti left the service in the beginning of 1830. Capodistrias had other troubles. Many inclined to suspect him as an agent of Russia, and the heads of the English party, Mavrocordatos, and Tricoupis began to be unfriendly towards him. He was opposed to the Panhellenion, but the people saw in him their only saviour, and at the election he was returned in thirty-six constituencies, while the new Chamber was composed almost entirely of his adherents.

Capodistrias as Dictator.

Capodistrias opened the National Assembly at Argos on July 23rd, 1829, clad in Russian uniform. The ceremony began with a Te Deum in the church, and the members then marched in solemn procession to the ancient theatre. He ended his address with the statement that he desired to serve Greece as a simple citizen, but was answered with the cry, "We wish to retain our saviour, the President." Kolokotronis kept the peace of the Assembly with his Palikars. The laws passed were chiefly of a financial character. Capodistrias refused any compensation and salary. A Senate was formed to take the place of the Panhellenion: it was to be nominated by the President, in part directly and in part from candidates suggested by the Assembly. The assent of the Senate was necessary in financial matters. A Constitution was to be drawn up by the President and the Senate, but for the moment the Head was invested with a dictatorship and all his acts were approved. He had now reached the summit of his power. The Assembly was dissolved on September 18th, with a speech from the President and a proclamation addressed to Hellenes.

Greek Finances.

Still Capodistrias was not without difficulties. Important members of the English party withdrew from him and Miaoulis refused to be made a senator. Mavrocordatos would not serve under him any longer; Lazarus Conduriotti resigned the governorship of Hydra; and the Hydriotes, Spezziotes and Psariotes were opposed to him. The President's attempts to change the irregular into regular forces made him many enemies. Money was wanting; the treasury had only sixteen and a half millions of piastres to meet twenty-eight millions for pressing needs. The change from payment in kind to payment in money caused great distress, as it did also at a later period. The ambassadors of the three Powers,

Stratford Canning, Guilleminot and Ribeaupierre, met at Paris to deliberate and determine the future frontiers of Greece, and gave their decision on December 8th, 1828. The northern frontier was a line drawn from the Gulf of Volo to the Gulf of Arta, over the range of Othrys and Pindus. The sea limit was 36° N. and 26° E. They promised to consider the inclusion of Samos and Crete, and fixed the tribute at a million and a half piastres. Capodistrias agreed to this generally, but thought the suzerainty of the Sultan would require consideration. He desired the creation of a kingdom under the guarantee of the Powers, and suggested Prince Leopold of Coburg as a possible sovereign. The meeting at Paris came to an end, but in London Wellington and Aberdeen were full of fears. Dreading lest Greece should become an outpost of Russia, they disapproved of the action of Stratford Canning. The frontiers as delimited were accepted in the London Protocol of March 22nd, 1829; but the two ministers would not allow a hereditary monarchy in Greece to be part of the ultimatum, and this condition was only secured by the victory of Diebich.

Wellington and Greek Independence.

Up to the present moment it had always been assumed that Greece should be a tributary State under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but a doubt arose whether a Christian prince could be found to occupy this position, and whether the vassal condition might not occasion new disputes. In the summer of 1828, while his soldiers were in Bulgaria, the Tsar had declared that he was ready to accord to the Greeks their complete independence. At the same time he considered the Greeks as rebels, had no love for the Constitution, and wished to give Greece a government strong enough to destroy secret societies and the germs of revolution. A tributary Greece would be a discontented country and offer a favourable soil for conspiracies and revolt. The views of the British Government were different. Wellington wrote to Aberdeen, "The Greek cause is the greatest humbug that ever was; thank God, it has never cost us a shilling." He and Aberdeen were especially anxious that the Ionian Islands should not be added to Greece, and they were afraid of Capodistrias on this account. However, in the final protocol of February 3rd, 1830, the independence of Greece was secured, but her frontiers were restricted. The northern boundaries were fixed by a line drawn from the mouth of the Aspropotamo to the mouth of the Spercheius, passing across Livadia. The sea frontier was the same as in the protocol of March 22nd, except that the Devil's Islands and Scyros were added, while Crete, Samos, Psara and Chios were excluded.

Leopold of Saxe-Coburg Offered the Greek Crown.

But it was no longer necessary that the question of a hereditary sovereign should be approved by the Porte. Two further protocols were signed on the same day. One guaranteed the Catholic worship and missions, hitherto under the protection of the French, and secured the equality of all the subjects of the new State without distinction of creed. The other offered the kingdom to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Other candidates, however, had been put forward—Prince Ferdinand of the Netherlands, Prince Charles of Bavaria, Prince John of Saxony, and Prince Philip of Hesse-Homburg. George IV. was strongly opposed to the choice of Prince Leopold, preferring Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, and his objections were with difficulty overcome by Wellington.

Leopold's Five Conditions.

The Turks agreed to swallow the pill, after it had been gilded by Nicholas with the remission of 1,000,000 ducats of debt. Prince Leopold at first yielded his consent, but afterwards withdrew it. Capodistrias, whom he consulted, advised him to demand the frontiers of Paris, the inclusion of Crete and Samos, a guarantee of a loan by the Powers, and the sending of a few thousand Swiss or German mercenaries. He also said that the Greeks would require their ruler to be of their own religion, and would demand a Constitution, which might be procured for them, but for which they were not really fit. Leopold was very cautious. He was tempted by the offer, and tried to secure Crete for Greece, but was snubbed by Aberdeen. When he received the protocol, he drew up a note, containing five conditions, one of which was the alteration of the frontiers, but, by the advice of Wellington, this was withdrawn. At last he agreed to accept the offer, making a few suggestions. His acceptance was confirmed by a protocol of February 20th, in which the Powers refused to extend the frontiers of Greece or to grant Crete or Samos. At the same time, they declared that they would interfere on behalf of the islanders if they were inhumanly treated by the Porte. They guaranteed the existence of the Grecian kingdom, and were willing to grant a loan for the maintenance of a body of troops in the service of the King. The French troops were to be left in the Morea for a year. Although Leopold did not want to throw back Greece into chaos, he was disappointed that he could not obtain better terms. Even as early as April 10th, 1830, he feared there would be a breach.

Conduct of Capodistrias.

When the London Protocol was known in Greece, the Greeks were disgusted at having to surrender their brethren in Ætolia and Acarnania. The conduct of Capodistrias has been a matter of great discussion, and it is not possible to come to a decision upon it. When he received the protocol he replied by thanking

the Powers for having secured Greek independence, and for the choice of the sovereign, and promised that the Greeks should evacuate Acarnania and Ætolia as soon as the Turks evacuated Attica and Euboea. He did not protest against the change of frontiers, but only said that it would be necessary to provide for the numerous families who would have to emigrate from the northern provinces. At the same time, he pointed out that the last congress at Argos had decreed that it was necessary to have the consent of the National Assembly to any new constitution, and this it might not be easy to obtain. At his suggestion, the Senate made some objections to the protocol, which Leopold should bring before the Powers. Capodistrias then wrote to Leopold, urging him to come to Greece as soon as possible, but describing the agitation of the Epirotes, the sad state of the finances, and the almost insuperable difficulties of surrendering the northern provinces. He told him that he must accept the religion of the country and respect the decisions of the National Assembly at Argos.

Leopold Declines the Kingship.

Undoubtedly it would have been better had Capodistrias taken the straightforward course of summoning the National Assembly, and leaving it to accept or reject the final protocol. The resolution of Leopold was much shaken by the letter of Capodistrias and the resolution of the Senate. The promise of a loan of 60,000,000 francs did not appease him, and he could not get over the separation of Acarnania and Ætolia. General Church, who was well acquainted with the military conditions, confirmed him in this view. After requesting time for consideration, he gave his final decision on May 21st, 1830. He said that the formal consent of Capodistrias had been extorted from him, and that he really had strong objections. He would not force himself on an unwilling people, nor disgrace his government by the surrender of districts which had been already conquered, or by opposing the Powers who had appointed him. He therefore declined the offer, and communicated his decision to Capodistrias on June 1st.

The Greeks were terribly disappointed, and the glamour of the Philhellenic cause vanished. The revolution of July drew the attention of the world to France, and henceforth the cause of Greece excited only a feeble interest, which was scarcely stimulated by the elevation of Otho, a boy of seventeen, son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, to the throne in 1832.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TERROR IN PORTUGAL

THE treaty of August 29th, 1825, had secured the entire independence of Brazil, which had previously been a Portuguese colony, governed by King John VI., and now became a constitutional empire under the sceptre of his eldest son, Dom Pedro. But Dom Pedro had not surrendered his right of succession to the throne of Portugal. Yet if he attempted to unite the two crowns great difficulties might ensue. Lisbon would not consent to be governed from Brazil, nor Brazil from Lisbon. On the other hand, it was not to be desired that Dom Miguel should succeed to the throne of Portugal. He had been banished for his misdeeds, and was now living at Vienna under the tutelage of Metternich. But if he came to live in Lisbon there would be danger of a revival of the "White Terror" of 1824. The Portuguese Government wished the succession of Dom Pedro to be guaranteed by Great Britain, but the British Cabinet had no desire to increase its responsibilities. **Death of John VI.**

In March, 1826, John VI. became seriously ill, and it was necessary to appoint a regency until the will of the Emperor Pedro could be ascertained. The Infanta Donna Maria was placed at its head, and it was supposed that if either Queen Carlota or Dom Miguel created a disturbance, Donna Maria would receive the protection of the British Ambassador, A'Court. Four days later, on March 10th, the King died. Queen Carlota kept away from his deathbed and made no revolutionary movement, while Dom Miguel, by Metternich's advice, wrote to the Regent expressing submission to the last will of his father.

After some consideration, on May 2nd, 1826, Dom Pedro renounced the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter Maria da Gloria, who was seven years old. But this renunciation was really conditional. Three days before it was made public, on April 29th, he promulgated a Constitution for Portugal, framed on the model of the French *Charte*. Article 92 of this Constitution entrusted the regency to the Sovereign's nearest relation of full age. Dom Miguel would not come of age for seventeen months, and therefore the regency passed to Isabel Maria, his sister. Pedro also desired to marry Maria da Gloria to Dom Miguel, and **Dom Pedro's Constitution.**

made his renunciation of the crown depend upon two conditions —first, that all officials should take the oath to the Constitution; and, secondly, that the marriage of Dom Miguel to Maria da Gloria should be carried into effect.

British Influence in Portugal.

It has often been supposed that the granting of this Constitution was due to the influence of Charles Stewart, the ambassador at Rio, and of Canning. But the diplomatic correspondence, which is now accessible, does not support this view. Stewart warned Dom Pedro against taking a step which might involve Portugal in war with Spain, and Canning was surprised at the news of the Constitution being granted, and still more so by the fact that Stewart was deputed to carry it to Lisbon and to see that it was executed.

Stewart, on arriving at Lisbon, disclaimed responsibility for Dom Pedro's action, and at the same time did his best to execute the commission which had been entrusted to him. The Liberals were delighted. There were shouts in the theatre of "Long live the Constitutional King! Long live England!" Isabel Maria issued a proclamation declaring to the people that the Emperor Pedro had given them a Constitution, to which the officials in Lisbon took the oath on July 31st. On August 1st the Council of Regency was dissolved, and Isabel Maria assumed their functions, threatening all who attacked the immortal Constitutional Codex with condign punishment. She formed a new Ministry, consisting of Liberals, and fell herself under the influence of her doctor, Abrantes, who had the reputation of being an arch-Jacobin. The Miguelites resisted this action and tried to gain over the army. Indeed, some regiments mutinied in the provinces of Tras os Montes and Alemtejo, and the heads of the mutiny took refuge in Spain.

Effect in Spain of the Portuguese Constitution.

The Government of Ferdinand VII. thought the Constitution of Portugal to be a bad example and a standing invitation to Spanish Liberals. This feeling was stronger amongst the party of the Apostolicals, whose leader was Don Carlos, and who were stirred up by his wife, the Portuguese Princess Maria Francisca. Ferdinand was himself afraid of the Apostolicals, but refused to recognise Isabel Maria as Regent or to take any steps against the Portuguese refugees.

The Powers and Portugal.

The attitude of the great Powers against the action of Dom Pedro might have been foreseen. The Emperor Francis expressed his sorrow that his granddaughter, Maria da Gloria, should at such an early age be obliged to receive the dower of a Constitution, while Metternich denounced it as a regrettable work, an act of madness, a cause of future anarchy. On July 4th he sent

a circular note to Berlin, Paris and Petersburg, in which he reminded them of the agreements made at Troppau and Laibach. He said that the Emperor of Brazil had, by his action, threatened the social order with death and destruction, and that it was impossible to tell what the effect might be on Spain, France and Italy. He pleaded for a new conference of ministers. Berlin emphasised the danger of a system of government whose object was to secure the triumph of all Liberal ideas, which for a quarter of a century had devastated Europe with fire and sword. The Tsar, however, was restrained from the expression of similar opinions by his friendship with Great Britain. He doubted the wisdom of Dom Pedro's action, but went so far as to call the opponents of the Constitution "rebels."

Canning's Cautiousness.

Canning, "the scourge of the world," as Metternich called him, felt considerable anxiety, and ordered Stewart to return home as soon as he had finished his commission, in order not to engage Great Britain further. But he denied the right of anyone to interfere in the domestic affairs of Portugal. Wellington advised him to suspend the articles of the Constitution, the publicity of the sittings of the Chambers, and the freedom of the Press, fearing that they might produce a conflict between Portugal and Spain. But Canning declined, advising, instead, a course to moderate the zeal of the Liberals, and ordering Frederick Lamb, the ambassador to Madrid, to urge the Spanish Government not to give protection to Portuguese rebels, and to threaten his departure if Spain should violate her neutrality with regard to Portugal. The attitude of France was more cautious. The Ultras were very bitter against the Constitution, and put pressure on Villèle, but the journey of Canning to Paris smoothed difficulties, and Moustier, at Madrid, was ordered to support the representations of Lamb. The French Government preserved towards the Constitution an attitude of absolute neutrality.

Rebellions in Portugal

Metternich found himself forced to yield to the inevitable. On October 4th, 1826, Dom Miguel swore before the Portuguese Ambassador obedience to the instrument of Dom Pedro, which Metternich had branded as an "act of madness," and applied to the Pope for a dispensation to marry his niece, Maria da Gloria. In writing to Dom Pedro, Miguel had expressly reserved his own rights, and Metternich was of opinion that this gave him the liberty of resuming them whenever he was in a position to do so. The Miguelites in Portugal did not despair of receiving assistance from Spain, and the Apostolical party was very active. Rebellions arose in Portugal against the regency of Isabel Maria

and in favour of Queen Carlota and Dom Miguel. The ambassador of the Regent left Madrid, and relations between the two countries became sorely strained. Indeed, the Government of Lisbon was weak in resources. The mass of the people were indifferent to the Constitution, which was opposed by a large part of the nobility and clergy. The army could not be depended upon, and the Regent talked of retiring to a monastery. At the end of November a body of Miguelites marched into Tras os Montes under the command of Chaves. Some troops were sent to repel them, but neither the militia nor the police could be trusted, and the Regent was prepared to take refuge in an English ship.

Portugal's Appeal to Britain.

Appeal to the British for assistance was presented by Palmella on December 3rd, and Canning was prepared for immediate action. He believed that France would offer no opposition, and the other Powers were not likely to interfere in force. The landing of 5,000 men in the harbour of Lisbon would save constitutional government and prevent civil war. On December 12th he appeared in Parliament, pale from recent illness, to support a Royal message, which asked for support to England's oldest ally against a foreign foe. He said, " It is a duty to hasten to the assistance of Portugal, be the aggressor who he may." He deprecated a war, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles. Such a war would range under one banner all the discontented and restless spirits of all nations. He said with regard to Great Britain, in the words of Shakespeare, " It is a great thing to possess the strength of a giant, another thing to use it as a giant." This famous speech obtained the applause of all Liberals in Europe, but the Eastern Powers were dismayed at the desertion of the path of Castlereagh. Metternich described the speech as a " dream." He could not understand how anyone could have the courage to turn the banner of an Empire into an oriflamme for the destruction of social order. Even in Paris the effect was doubtful. The French did not approve of the well-known words, " I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." The Cabinet of Paris was much embarrassed, but the efforts of the Apostolicals, and an ambiguous letter of Ferdinand VII. to Charles X. produced no effect. Ferdinand, despairing of French assistance, recognised the Regent, and allowed his ambassador to return to Lisbon.

The words of Canning gave encouragement to the Government of Portugal, and disturbances in the provinces gradually ceased. The British troops, under the command of General

Clinton, reached the mouth of the Tagus at the beginning of January, 1827, a portion of them occupying the forts and a portion proceeding to Coimbra. The Spanish Government gave way, on the French recalling the Swiss regiments from Madrid. Canning, by his energetic action, had won a splendid victory. He had raised the reputation of Great Britain, had preserved the peace of Europe, and had assisted the progress of Liberal ideas.

Canning's Differences with His Colleagues.

The action of Canning, however, did not meet with the entire approval of his colleagues. Wellington disapproved of some of the passages of Canning's speech of December 12th; nor, a few months later, did he agree with the signing of the London Convention with regard to Greece. On the questions of Free Trade and Catholic Emancipation the Cabinet was also divided, Huskisson being a Free Trader, while Wellington was not. However, in the spring of 1826 a certain amount of foreign corn was imported into England. Eldon, Peel and Wellington were opposed to the emancipation of the Catholics, which was an important matter for Ireland, but public opinion seemed to be against it. Lord Liverpool kept his discordant Cabinet together; but, on February 17th, 1827, he was struck by paralysis. Canning must either be got rid of or lead. The decision turned mainly on Catholic Emancipation, and the hopes of the Tories were excited by a division in the Commons on March 6th, 1827, when a motion of Sir Francis Burdett in favour of emancipation was rejected by four votes, although Canning had warmly supported it in opposition to Sir Robert Peel and Sir John Copley, the Master of the Rolls.

Death of Canning.

The Duke of Newcastle did his best to persuade the King to get rid of Canning, but this was found impossible, and on April 10th Canning was empowered to form a new Ministry. Peel, Wellington and Eldon retired, and with them other Tories; only Huskisson, Robinson, Wynn and Harrowby remained. The Tories had serious doubts as to Canning's probable success. However, he formed a strong Ministry, in which the King's brother became Lord High Admiral, and Copley, with the title of Lord Lyndhurst, was Lord Chancellor. Among the Whigs, Canning was supported by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Tierney and Brougham. The world, however, was not allowed to see what Canning might be able to effect as Prime Minister. In the summer he fell ill, and died on August 8th, 1827, at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, in the same room in which Charles Fox had died twenty-one years before. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, by the side of William Pitt.

Canning's death produced a profound effect on Europe. He was mourned by all Liberals as the man who had released Great Britain from the fetters of the Holy Alliance. On the other hand, Gentz regarded his death as an act of God. Metternich compared it to the "quenching of an unholy meteor." He said, "Canning did not build; he only pulled down." His three months' Ministry, however, will be placed in history by the side of another Hundred Days. In that short time he had been able to create the Triple Alliance for the liberation of Greece.

Apostolical Rising in Spain.

In Spain, at the end of August, 1827, a rising, the work of the Apostolical party, took place at Manresa, in Catalonia, a place intimately associated with the fortunes of Ignatius Loyola. The garrison of the town was overpowered, and the officers and the populace embraced the Apostolical cause. Their cry was that the time had now come to cast the insane enemies of Holy Religion and of Absolute Monarchy in the dust. Arms and ammunition were requisitioned under penalty of death, the example of Manresa was followed by other places, and the contagion spread to Aragon and Valencia. The numbers of the rebels were swelled to many thousands. Up to this time Ferdinand, following the advice of his minister, Calomarde, had tried to manage the Apostolicals by flattery, but now more strenuous measures were required. The King and his ministers went to Tarragona, and the rising collapsed. The few who resisted were overpowered by General España, while several of the leaders escaped to France, and others were delivered up to the executioners by their old friends Calomarde and España, Calomarde stamping himself for ever as a traitor. España tried to regain the confidence of his former friends by cruel persecution of the Liberals, in his capacity as Captain-General of Catalonia. The result, however, of these events was a policy of moderation. The Apostolical party suffered a great loss in the death of Queen Josefa Amalia on May 17th, 1829.

King Ferdinand's Fourth Marriage.

The King, who had no children, immediately prepared to contract a fourth marriage. The Apostolicals wished, first, that the King should not marry at all; in this case the crown would descend to his brother, Don Carlos. If he did marry, they desired that his bride should favour their opinions. They hoped for an alliance with a Sardinian princess, or the widowed Princess Beira, the sister-in-law of Don Carlos. But Luisa Carlota, the wife of Don Francisca de Paula, a bitter enemy of the wife of Don Carlos, the Portuguese Maria Francisca, and of his sister-in-law, continued to direct the King's attention to her younger sister, Maria Cristina, and she was assisted by Calomarde. The King's passions were

aroused and the marriage was hastily concluded. The newly-married pair entered Madrid on November 11th, 1829. The marriage, however, led to a step which altered the succession to the throne and prepared a long series of disasters for Spain.

Don Carlos Awaits Events.

In the year 1713, Philip V., the first Bourbon King of Spain, altered the old Castilian law of succession to the crown. He promulgated a law which procured the inheritance of women after the last male heir. In 1789, however, Charles IV. induced the Cortes to pass a Pragmatic Sanction, restoring the old right of inheritance. He had lost four sons by death, and the two that survived were weakly, and he wished to secure the crown to his daughter Carlota, who was betrothed to the Crown Prince of Portugal, instead of its going to his brother, the King of Naples. The Pragmatic Sanction was kept an entire secret, and was never promulgated as a law. The health of Charles' sons, Ferdinand and Carlos, improved, and the French Revolution broke out. The Constitution of 1812 restored the old Castilian order of succession. But this Constitution was suspended in 1814, and this fact, together with the recrudescence of the doctrine of Absolute Sovereignty, made matters more complicated. On March 29th, 1830, a Royal decree revived the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles IV., and two days later it was proclaimed in the capital with the sound of trumpets. The people received it quietly, but Don Carlos and his friends were deeply stirred. The Queen was expecting her confinement, and was anxious to secure the succession of her child, whatever its sex. Don Carlos did not break with his brother Ferdinand; his party awaited the birth of the child. If it were a male they would acknowledge its claims to the succession; if a female, they would assert the rights of Don Carlos.

Coming of Age of Dom Miguel.

We must now return to the affairs of Portugal. One of the last actions of Canning had been to send a British auxiliary force to that country to defend her against the threatened attack of Spain. The result of this was that the Constitution granted by Dom Pedro was maintained and his sister Isabel Maria remained at the head of the Government. But this Constitution had not taken root in the country, being detested by the clergy and the great landowners. Indeed, it had few friends, and had not been a success. The treasury was empty, and public security was not preserved, the army being without discipline. In June, 1827, Saldanha became Prime Minister and displayed no lack of energy. He inaugurated a Liberal regime, but was opposed by his colleagues, and the Regent lacked the firmness to help or defend him. He retired on July 23rd, after little more than a month's

term of office. Dom Miguel was now of age. It will be remembered that Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, had renounced the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter Maria da Gloria, who, in May, 1826, was seven years of age, on the condition that, before she left Brazil, her uncle, Dom Miguel, who was appointed Regent, should take the oath to the Constitution and marry his niece. Miguel fulfilled the first condition in word certainly, but the second could not be fulfilled till the child was of marriageable age. There was now a general desire that Donna Maria should leave Brazil and come to Portugal to put an end to the uncertainties of the situation. Great Britain and Austria, differing in so many matters, were agreed upon this.

Dom Miguel Appointed Regent.

Dom Pedro could not make up his mind. In February he wished Miguel to come to Brazil, to receive both his daughter and the Regency; by summer he had altered his views. Palmella, who was ambassador in London, assured him that the presence of Dom Miguel was required in Portugal. "We require a man and a prince," he said, "who must, like Henry IV., have the energy and will to close the Temple of Discord, to adopt honourably the principles of the Legitimate party, but to protect their opponents from their vengeance." Dom Pedro was convinced, and agreed that Dom Miguel should proceed to Lisbon instead of Rio Janeiro. By a decree of July 3rd, 1827, he appointed him Regent, on condition that he governed according to the Constitution. But he did not absolutely renounce the crown of Portugal; Dom Miguel was to govern in his name. Dom Pedro asked the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Austria to sanction these decisions. Consequently, conferences were held in Vienna, which issued a series of protocols on October 18th, 20th and 23rd. Dom Miguel accepted the Regency under the conditions proposed by his brother; he promised an amnesty for the past and peace between the contending factions.

Dom Miguel's Arrival in Lisbon.

In London the Ministry promised to assist him with a loan, and sent a squadron to accompany him to Lisbon. Frederick Lamb went with him as ambassador. However, the news of his coming excited the enemies of the Constitution and the supporters of absolute monarchy. He arrived at Lisbon on February 22nd, 1828, and was anxiously received by the Regent, Isabel Maria. His first visit was to his mother, Queen Carlota, who had been his evil genius. In the evening the mob went about singing, "Long live King Miguel!" The foreign diplomats, however, were afraid that the days of the Constitution were numbered. On February 26th he swore obedience to the Constitution, in the

presence of the Cortes, in the palace of the Ajuda. But his friends declared that he had never repeated the words of the oath, and the fact was published in the official part of the *Journal*. He appointed as Prime Minister the Duke of Cadaval, President of the House of Peers and a known enemy of the Constitution.

Disorder in Portugal.

The palace of Dom Miguel became a meeting-place for all discontented spirits, the friends of the Queen-Mother, retired officers, dismissed officials, monks and priests. The mob hindered the playing of the constitutional hymn and attacked prominent Liberals with violence. The British and Austrian Ambassadors made representations to Dom Miguel, but found him like wax in the hands of his mother. He prepared for a *coup d'état* by changing the military governors and the officers, dissolved the Chamber on March 13th, and made no arrangement for a new election. Liberals were denounced as the enemies of Holy Church and of the rightful King Miguel. Riots took place, not without bloodshed, and many sought refuge in flight. The British troops under Clinton were the only security for order, and Lamb begged Clinton to defer his departure, although he despised both parties and wrote to Wellington that both Pedrists and Miguelists deserved a good flogging. At the same time, to save the honour of Great Britain, he asked that reinforcements should be sent, and that the command of the troops might be given to the ambassador. Wellington refused, on the ground that the troops had been sent to secure Portugal against invasion, and that they could now go home. Great Britain had no right to complain if Dom Miguel preferred to choose his ministers from one party rather than the other. If things grew very bad, Lamb must demand his passports and leave a chargé d'affaires behind. The British troops were embarked on April 5th.

Dom Miguel Proclaimed King.

The Miguelists now had a free hand. On April 25th, the birthday of Queen Carlota, the town hall was surrounded by troops and Dom Miguel proclaimed as King, a number of people signing their names to the proclamation. Dom Miguel affected a show of moderation. He asked the Town Council to wait and proceed in a constitutional manner. He had conceived the idea of summoning the ancient Cortes of Estates, which had not met since 1698, and which was called the Cortes of Lamego, from the place where it had first met in 1143. Queen Carlota, however, was strongly opposed to these steps. She demanded that her son should be proclaimed immediately as King. In fact, the Cortes of Lamego, consisting of the representatives of the clergy, nobles, and towns, was summoned on May 3rd, by a proclamation signed

by Miguel, in which he did not call himself either Regent or Viceroy. He had burned his boats. The diplomatic body declared their functions suspended, and Palmella and the Portuguese diplomats in other countries protested against the violation of the Constitution and of the rights of Dom Pedro.

Opposition to Miguel.

On May 16th the garrison of Oporto declared itself against Dom Miguel, and was supported by the population. Coimbra rose in the south, and even Algarve showed signs of resistance. A junta under General da Costa was formed in Oporto. However, these movements had for the time no success, and Dom Miguel succeeded in putting them down. Saldanha, Villaflor and Palmella arrived too late to be of any use. Wellington declined to interfere, and though Dudley might have done something, his place was now taken by Aberdeen. The Cortes met on June 23rd, and was called by Metternich a "mad Parliament." He tells us: "The pretended representatives of the nation were nothing but chosen instruments and notorious accomplices of corruption. Their deliberations, begun and ended in two or three tumultuous meetings, were the idle echoes of those resolutions which party spirit had long ago prepared and caprice and power were ready to carry out." On June 26th, Miguel was proclaimed the lawful successor of his father to the throne of Portugal, and everything which Dom Pedro had decreed as King, including the Constitution, was declared null and void. The Estates then separated. On July 4th it was announced that Dom Miguel had accepted the title of King, and the representatives of foreign Powers, with the exception of the Nuntius and the Spanish Ambassador, left Lisbon.

The White Terror.

This was a blow for Austria and Great Britain. Metternich attempted conciliation by proposing that, until Donna Maria had reached a marriageable age, Dom Miguel should be considered co-Regent of the kingdom and share the throne with her, with the title of King. Wellington approved of this, and asked Dom Pedro to consent. Paris, St. Petersburg, Berlin and Madrid agreed, and the Pope was asked to influence Dom Miguel to accept this compromise. Miguel, however, continued in his course. Palmella and Saldanha returned to England, and a White Terror was established. Imprisonments, confiscations, and executions raged throughout the land, and the enemies of the Queen-Mother were barbarously treated. Only one spot in the Portuguese dominions refused its submission. This was the island of Terceira, in the Azores, which had once held the standard of Portuguese independence against Philip II. of Spain. The governor, Cabrera, could depend upon his garrison, and Miguel was unable to subdue it.

A FUGITIVE QUEEN

Donna Maria Seeks Refuge in England.

Under the influence of Austria and Great Britain, Pedro had, on March 3rd, 1828, declared his unconditional surrender of the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria. He determined to send her, now a child of nine, to Vienna, to be educated by her grandfather, the Emperor Francis. But when she arrived at Gibraltar, her Governor, Marquis Barbacena, heard that Dom Miguel had assumed the crown and established his authority. With the consent of Dom Pedro, therefore, the plan of his journey was changed, and, on September 24th, they reached the coast of England. Palmella was one of the first to do homage to her, and the fugitives of Oporto and Corunna clustered round her. A Brazilian expedition to Terceira was secretly being prepared. On October 25th Barbacena informed the Duke of Wellington of it, and asked for the help of a British man-of-war, and on November 25th presented a similar request to Aberdeen. Wellington set his face against any such step. He could not countenance the Emperor of Brazil making preparations in England to take a Portuguese possession by force. He thought that the assembling of the conspirators in Plymouth was a danger to the arsenal, and asserted the neutrality of Great Britain in the strongest terms. Notwithstanding this, the expedition of five ships and 600 men, under the command of Saldanha, sailed from Plymouth to Terceira on January 6th, 1829.

British Intervention at Terceira.

Two British frigates were cruising in the neighbourhood of the Azores under the command of William Walpole, who was ordered to prevent the landing of the troops. Saldanha's ship came in sight on January 16th, and Walpole fired a shot which killed one man and wounded another. Saldanha retired, watched by Walpole, and eventually preferred to go into Brest to being a prisoner in England. From that port he sailed to Terceira. Wellington was violently attacked in Parliament by Mackintosh, Brougham, Palmerston and Londonderry. On June 15th, 1829, Dom Pedro set up a provisional government in Terceira under Palmella, in favour of his daughter, while the little Queen returned with Barbacena to Rio.

Queen Carlota Supreme.

The Reign of Terror in Portugal became worse and worse. Thousands of heads of families were imprisoned, and all classes of society were sent to the galleys. Dom Miguel even kept his own sister, the former Regent, under lock and key, and threatened her with a pistol. Queen Carlota was mistress of the situation. Her party demanded the restoration of the Inquisition, and posted placards, with the legend, " Our endeavour is to save the Throne and the Altar. The revolutionaries still hold important places,

and prisons are turned into Freemasons' lodges. May the galleys, the axe, and the gallows annihilate the monsters for ever!" Her party was connected with the Spanish Apostolicals. At the same time, there were furious quarrels between her and her son till her death, on January 7th, 1830, brought some alleviation, but misgovernment still continued. The state of the finances was hopeless, and the Bank of Lisbon suspended payment. Foreign capitalists refused assistance, and an attempt to sell the crown diamonds failed. No one was paid—neither the officers in the army, nor the artisans in the arsenal, nor the clerks in the offices. Portuguese paper fell 40 per cent. The scaffold, however, was kept busy, and an occasional *auto da fé* varied the gruesome spectacle.

CHAPTER XX

CHARLES X

WHEN Louis XVIII. died, on September 16th, 1824, the reconciliation between the old France and the new had made very little progress. On the one side stood the newly arisen middle class with its ideas of equality before the law and the easy transference of property; on the other, the returned nobility, with their ideas of feudal privilege and their struggle for the restoration of large consolidated estates. With the Church on its side, this latter party had won many victories during the last years of Louis XVIII. Villèle, a far-seeing and cautious minister, had done his best to restrain the fanatical zeal of the lay and clerical extremists of his party, which, on the accession of Charles X., conceived hopes of fresh victories. They had always been supported by the Pavillon Marsan, and they thought that the sixty-seven years of the new sovereign would not allow him to change the opinions of a lifetime.

A "New Henry IV."

The new monarch was careful not to show his hand prematurely. He promised to confirm the *Charte*, and he declared that all Frenchmen were equal in his eyes. He admitted the Duc d'Angoulême to the Royal Council, and gave the Duc d'Orléans the title of "Royal Highness," which had hitherto been withheld. He won all hearts by removing the censorship of the Press a fortnight after his accession. He was hailed as a new Henry IV.

Compensation for *Émigrés*.

However, this happy state of things did not long continue. The first note of discord was struck by a decree of December 1st, 1824, which put a number of officers of high rank on half-pay. This was worked so as to affect the soldiers of the Revolution and the Empire, while those who belonged to the Emigration were spared. The Chambers met on December 22nd, and the King, in his speech, announced a law which, to use the expression of Louis XVIII., was "to heal the wounds of the Revolution." It was proposed to compensate the families of *émigrés* for their confiscated property which had been sold by auction. The sum necessary for this purpose was 988,000,000 francs, which it was difficult to provide.

The debate upon the subject was, naturally, stormy. The Right was not satisfied with the amount of compensation, some rejecting the notion of compensation altogether and demanding that the "stolen property" should be restored entire. The Left objected that no compensation had been given to those who lost their property by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Why should the *émigrés* be compensated any more than others who had suffered by the Revolution? Had not they already received compensation in offices, honours, and other advantages? It was their fault that France had ever been conquered by a foreign foe.

"A Measure of Counter-Revolution."

Villèle tried to hold the balance between these conflicting views. He allowed amendments which implied that, notwithstanding the compensation, the possession of the property was not secured to its present owners. But General Foy declared that the proposed law, instead of being a measure of unity and peace, had become a declaration of war, an instrument of hatred and revenge. When the vote was taken on March 15th, it was found that there were 259 for and 124 against, and everyone was shocked by the largeness of the minority. The Peers endeavoured to modify the effect of these amendments by declaring that property secured by the law of December 5th, 1814, should not be affected by the present Act. The Duc de Broglie denounced the compensation as a measure of counter-revolution, and a means of stimulating the appetites of the *émigrés*. But, in fact, these properties now reached the settled value of ordinary estates, having been depreciated by the insecurity attaching to them.

Anti-Sacrilege Laws.

Two other laws bore a reactionary character. One made it possible for nunneries to receive property without legal confirmation. This was enacted with the object of enabling ladies of good family to retire more easily to a cloister. The other was directed against sacrilege, which it was proposed to punish with death. This aroused violent opposition in both Chambers. Molé asked, "What should we say if Frenchmen of a different religion demanded from us a law which punished with death the violation of the sanctity of their churches?" Broglie remarked that the offence was the same, whether it was committed in a Protestant chapel or a Catholic church. In the lower Chamber, Royer Collard said, "The theocracy of our time is not so much religious as political. It is a part of the general reaction under which we live. It is recommended to us by its counter-revolutionary character. Certainly, the Revolution was godless to fanaticism, even to cruelty; but this brought about its destruction, and we may predict with

certainty that a renewal of cruelty, even upon paper, will stain and disgrace the counter-revolution." The law was carried by a large majority, but its worst provisions remained a dead letter.

Disappointment with Charles X.

At this time Metternich was in Paris, and although he disliked the prevailing "theocracy," he knew how to make the reactionary spirit subservient to his plans. But the popularity of Charles X. began to wane. The people had discovered that he was not a Henry IV., and the feeling became more obvious when he returned to Paris after his coronation at Rheims, on May 29th, 1825, a ceremony carried out with a revival of medieval pomp which excited the sneers of scoffers. Charles was anointed in seven places, and touched for the king's evil. Clerical oppression became more pronounced. Officers and officials were compelled to take part in religious processions. Religious tests were exacted, the writings of Voltaire, Diderot and d'Alembert were not allowed to be exhibited in the booksellers' shops and windows, or to be retained in lending libraries and reading-rooms. The little seminaries, intended originally for the education of priests, were used as a set-off against the State schools, and numbered 50,000 pupils. This was attributed to a supposed secret society called the "Congregation." The Jesuits, although forbidden by law to set foot in France, began to come back, and Gentz, who ought to have been well-informed, wrote about them, "The Jesuits in France are no empty name, but a very active, powerful machine, rightly feared by all enemies of religion and order, directed by very active, determined and logical supporters of the true Restoration."

Anti-Jesuit Campaign.

There was, naturally, a reaction on the other side against the Congregationists and the black coat of Ignatius. The performance of *Tartuffe* produced violent demonstrations. Pamphleteers and song-writers assisted the movement. Foremost among the newspapers on this side were the *Constitutionnel* and the *Courier*. These were indicted in August, 1825, for their attacks on the State religion, and the public prosecutor asked that they might be suspended, one for a month and the other for three months. However, the *Journal des Débats* took their side, and they were acquitted—the *Constitutionnel* on December 3rd, the *Courier* on December 5th. The friends of General Foy, on November 28th, gave occasion for a Liberal demonstration in favour of this redoubted leader of the Left. A subscription of 400,000 francs was raised for his children, among the subscribers being Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans.

Villèle tried to recover his lost popularity with the Right by introducing a Bill for the restriction of primogeniture. It was violently opposed by the Peers. Broglie said, "This is no law,

but a manifesto against existing society. It is the forerunner of twenty other laws, which, unless your wisdom prevent them, will break in upon us and leave no peace to French society as it has been constituted for the last forty years." It was rejected by 120 votes against 24. In the evening Paris was illuminated. They cried in the streets, " Long live the Chamber of Peers ! Long live the *Charte !* " Discontent was further increased by the appointment of the Duc de Rivière, an Ultra *pur-sang*, as governor of the Duc de Bordeaux, " the child of the miracle," and Thouin, Bishop of Strasbourg, as his teacher.

Attempts to Muzzle the Press.

Charles X. had long regretted the first enactment of his reign, the granting of freedom to the Press. But, on December 29th, 1826, a law was introduced which was to remedy this defect. To prevent the circulation of small pamphlets, every copy with fewer than five leaves was to pay a franc for the first folio and ten centimes for every succeeding folio. To prevent the publication of larger works, they were to be kept back for periods varying from five to ten days according to their size. For periodical works, the responsibility was laid on the proprietor and the printer. The tax on newspapers was raised, the scale of fines was increased, paragraphs on private affairs were forbidden, except with the consent of the parties interested. These and many other provisions made up a formidable enactment.

The Bill Defeated.

The Bill was received with general execration. The *Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the *Courier* attacked it together. Chateaubriand called it " Vandalish." The Academy opposed it, and Villèle confessed that he had never seen such excitement. The debates in the lower House lasted from February 7th to March 12th. Few Ultras followed Count Salabéry in his opinion that the " newspaper Press was the only plague which Moses forgot to inflict upon the Egyptians." Royer Collard said of the Ministry, " Last year they dug up the right of the first-born from the dust of the Middle Ages, the year before the law of sacrilege, to-day they prepare the annihilation of the freedom of the Press. They are going back in religion, in politics, in social affairs ; they are proceeding by fanaticism, privilege, and ignorance to barbarism, and to the foolish government which is formed by barbarism." On the division the minority numbered 134, although the measure had been rendered less severe by amendments. The opposition in the Peers was so strong that the Bill had to be withdrawn on April 17th. Paris gave way to unrestrained enthusiasm. Evening after evening there were illuminations, processions, and cries of " Long live the Peers ! Down with the Ministers ! "

DISAFFECTION IN FRANCE

The Ministry now made themselves ridiculous as well as detested. On April 29th the King held a review of the National Guard, which passed off fairly well. Most of the soldiers cried out "*Vive le Roi!*" Some shouted "*Vive la Charte!*" "*Vive la Liberté de la Presse!*" "*À bas les Ministres!*" "*À bas les Jésuites!*" The King was, on the whole, satisfied. But, in the evening, he learned from Villèle that on their return the Guard had insulted him and Peyronnet, and also the Duchesses de Berri and Angoulême on their way from the Champ de Mars. Villèle advised their immediate dismissal, and the Cabinet agreed with him. The Ministers received this decree at midnight, and had to suppress an article in which they spoke highly of the review. Villèle thought he had made a great stroke; in reality, he had shattered his Ministry. Twenty thousand Parisian *bourgeois* felt themselves grossly insulted, and the Left redoubled its attacks. Benjamin Constant said, "The Ministry has crossed the Rubicon. Its standard is absolutism; the Apostolicals are its only allies." The session came to an end on June 22nd.

The King and the National Guard.

Two days later the censorship of the Press was restored. The funeral of Manuel, who died on August 27th, gave rise to a demonstration similar to that of General Foy. Villèle felt the ground tremble under his feet, and formed the plan of creating a number of new peers, chosen from his majority in the lower House, with the hope of filling their places with new adherents. On November 6th the Ministers announced a series of ordinances. The Chamber of Representatives was dissolved, and the decree establishing the censorship came automatically to an end. Seventy-six new peers were created, nearly half of whom were taken from the lower Chamber. The elections were fixed for November 17th to 24th. The opponents of Villèle made a coalition and issued a list of candidates, containing the names of Lafayette, Benjamin Constant, Laffitte, Casimir Périer, together with Labourdonnaye, Hyde de Neuville, Delatot and Lazardière, and this step was supported by Chateaubriand in the *Débats*. A society called "*Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera,*" led by Guizot, Duvergier de Hauranne, Odilon Barrot, Rémusat and Joubert, conducted a vigorous election campaign. They formed the party of the Doctrinaires. In the elections the Ministry were entirely defeated. Peyronnet could find a seat nowhere, and Royer Collard was chosen in seven constituencies. Out of 422 deputies, only 125 were supporters of Villèle.

Defeat of Villèle.

The King did not know what to do, and his ideas changed every day. He would have liked to keep Villèle and to reform the Ministry. In January, however, Villèle resigned and was

succeeded by Chabrol, although the Ministry generally bears the name of Martignac, who was its most prominent member. Laferronays became Foreign Minister; Portalis, Minister of Justice; Villèle, Corbière and Peyronnet were made peers. When Villèle took leave of the Dauphin, the Duc d'Angoulême expressed his regret that he was so unpopular. Villèle replied, "Monseigneur, thank God I am." Barante said of him, "All great political faults came from Charles X. and his party; Villèle would never have made them on his own account; he allowed them to be committed without realising their importance."

Martignac's Independence.

Martignac had a difficult task to perform. The King declared himself devoted to the principles of Villèle, and Martignac was often regarded as the figure-head of a Cabinet inspired by Villèle's influence, or as a warming-pan for Polignac, whose advent to power was regarded with apprehension. At the same time, he showed that he was prepared to take a line of his own. The post of Director of the General Police, in which Franchet had made himself so detested, was abolished, and the Prefecture of the Paris Police was placed in other hands. The "Black Cabinet" of the Post Office was abolished. The three academicians, Michaud, Villemain and Lacretelle, who had been deprived of their professorships, were restored to their places, and a commission was appointed to inquire into the "little seminaries." All this offended the Ultras, while it did not satisfy the Liberals. Chateaubriand, who held aloof, did not see how the Ministry could obtain a majority in the Chamber.

A Harmonious Beginning.

The session opened on January 5th, 1828, the King, in his opening speech, declaring his determination to bring legislation into harmony with the *Charte*. A good effect was produced by a circular of Vatismenil, the newly appointed Rector of the University. He had hitherto been regarded as a violent Ultra and Congregationist, but now insisted on the close observance of the *Charte* and the laws, and promised to give the protection of the Government to every kind of useful education. A still greater success was the appointment of Royer Collard, the leader of the Doctrinaires, to the Presidency of the Chamber. Frayssinous and Chabrol were removed from office, and their places filled by Feutrier, Bishop of Beauvais, mild in manner and tolerant in character, and Hyde de Neuville, who, from a thoroughgoing Ultra, had become half a Liberal. Chateaubriand also joined and was made ambassador in Rome.

Unfortunately, the Chamber brought dissension into this scene of harmony. In their Address they spoke disrespectfully of the

Ministry of Villèle and made the King very angry. He declared he would rather saw wood than be a king under the same conditions as in England. To Martignac and Portalis he said, "There, you see what they are driving me to. But I will not allow them to cast my crown into the mud." He talked of reforming the Address and of dissolving the Chamber. Martignac asked him whether, in that case, he was ready to dismiss his ministers and had the means to suppress an insurrection. The King bethought himself. Next day he received the deputation in the Tuileries, heard the Address read by Royer Collard, and contented himself with expressing regret that the Chamber had shown lack of unity. Villèle was very angry at the King's weakness and Martignac's hesitation.

A Successful Session.

Two Bills were now introduced—one for securing greater freedom of election, and the other concerning the Press. The first was directed against intimidation and trickery in preparing the list of voters. Just at this time some by-elections were held, which resulted in a victory for the Left. The candidates had addressed large meetings in the open air, a practice which recalled the days of the Girondists and the Jacobin Club. This excited the Right to opposition, but the Bill passed both Chambers. By the second Bill the Act of March 17th, 1822, was abrogated, and more Liberal principles were introduced. This was also passed by both Chambers, although it did not satisfy the Constitutionals and Benjamin Constant. Two ordinances were published on June 16th, dealing with the Jesuits and the "little seminaries." They placed eight religious secondary schools under the University, and demanded a declaration from all teachers in religious secondary schools that they did not belong to forbidden Orders, and limited the number of students to 20,000. The session closed on August 18th, and Martignac had good reason to be satisfied with his work.

Clerical Opposition.

It was, however, found difficult to carry out the ordinances of June 16th. They were bitterly opposed by ecclesiastical and political Ultras. Portalis and Feutrier, whose names stood at the foot of the ordinances, were stigmatised as Diocletian and Julian. The ordinances were acts of revolutionary vandalism, and the age of martyrs was at hand! To forbid any Frenchman, clerical or lay, to teach was to violate the *Charte*. The Ultras fought under the banner of freedom of education, but they avowed that education belonged to the Church alone, because it alone possessed the treasure of truth, which is the foundation of life.

The bishops protested, Cardinal Clermont-Tonnerre, Arch-

bishop of Toulouse, leading the way. The Government sent Lasagni, a French judge, to Leo XII. at Rome. He found Bernetti, the Secretary of State, and Pope Leo XII. favourable to the views of the Government. Bernetti expressed the opinion that the Jesuitical and fanatical party in the Church were the real enemies of the Holy See and of the peace of Europe. The Pope said that, much as he should rejoice to see all education in the hands of the bishops, he could not regard their claims as well founded. Bernetti induced Latil, the Archbishop of Rheims, to draft a circular letter to the bishops, saying that, in the Pope's opinion, it was their duty to trust the wisdom of the King with regard to carrying out the ordinances. This brought about the submission of the bishops; but the Archbishop of Toulouse, continuing in his opposition, was forbidden access to the Court.

The King's Progress.

In September the King made a progress, accompanied by the Duc d'Angoulême and Martignac, through Alsace and Lorraine. He was received everywhere with enthusiasm. When the people were shouting at Strasbourg, whilst the cathedral was illuminated, he turned to Martignac and said, "These people cry, '*Vive le Roi!*' not '*Vive la Charte!*'" He confessed that if he had known the disposition of the people he would not have made so many concessions. The feeling of confidence in the popularity of his throne was strengthened by the reception which the Duchesse de Berri had met with in La Vendée and Brittany.

Polignac Banned.

The sudden illness of Laferronays on January 9th, 1829, threatened a change in the Ministry. Polignac was sent for from London to receive the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, but the other Ministers declared they would all resign if he were appointed, and Portalis undertook the office. The King could not carry Polignac and would not hear of Chateaubriand, who was supported by Hyde de Neuville. The Chambers met on January 27th, 1829, with little or no foreboding of coming events.

Attack on Bureaucracy.

Martignac was desirous of remedying the extreme centralisation of French Government and establishing some system of representative local self-government, in place of the bureaucracy of mayors and provincial councillors, who now governed France. At an earlier period this had been one of the plans of the Pavillon Marsan, and Charles X. could hardly refuse his consent to it. On February 9th Martignac introduced Bills for the establishment of representative councils in the Departments and municipalities, and pointed out, in a masterly speech, how it would open a new career of usefulness to young men of talent and tend to allay discontent. The proposition was received with acclamation by the

Liberal Press, but the Right ridiculed the idea of establishing "thousands of little republics," and the Ultras, forgetting their previous attacks on bureaucracy, joined the opposition. Difference of opinion became accentuated as to which proposal should have the priority. Martignac desired to give this to the municipalities, whereas the Liberals and the Liberal Centre wished first to deal with the Departments. The Doctrinaires, under the leadership of the Duc de Broglie, also set themselves against the Bill.

Defeat of the Ministry.

This question, which in these days does not appear very important, brought about a defeat of the Ministry. The Left and the Right formed a coalition for giving priority to the law about the Departments, and Martignac was beaten. He would have been glad to make concessions to the Liberals; but the King, before giving his consent to the introduction of the Bills, had exacted a promise that no alterations should be made in them. When, on April 8th, an amendment was carried against the Ministry, Martignac and Portalis left the Chamber. It was supposed that they would return and announce their resignation, but instead of this they brought back a Royal Ordinance which removed the two measures from the Chambers.

Those who did not know the arrangements which had been made with the King blamed Martignac for behaving like an "angry child"; but the truth gradually leaked out, and the Ultras and Villèlians triumphed. They felt certain that the King had determined to dismiss the Ministry, and he was only waiting till the budget had been passed, fearing to strengthen the Ministry by any additions. For this reason he refused to admit Chateaubriand and Pasquier; and Portalis, whose office had previously been temporary, was now made permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

Dismissal of Martignac.

The session closed on July 30th, and Charles set to work to carry out his own views. Polignac arrived from London, and was in constant communication with him at St. Cloud. Labourdonnaye also was taken into confidence. Martignac soon became aware of these negotiations, and discovered that Polignac was designated as his successor. The King threw off the mask, and on August 8th, 1829, dismissed the Martignac Ministry, retaining only Roy, the Minister of Finance. He, however, refused to serve when he learnt that Martignac was excluded. The *Moniteur* of August 9th published the names of the new Ministers, and the result was general consternation. The Prince de Polignac, the son of the friend of Marie Antoinette, now Minister of Foreign Affairs, was regarded as a standard-bearer of the Emigration

and the Congregation; Labourdonnaye recalled the days of the White Terror; Bourmont, Minister of War, had deserted Napoleon in 1815 as he rode to the field of Waterloo; Montbel, a devoted friend of Villèle, became Minister of Instruction; Courvoisier was Minister of Justice, Chabrol of Finance, and de Rigny of Marine. The belief that the Ministry was the offspring of Austrian and British influence made them more unpopular. As a fact, Metternich and Wellington had nothing whatever to do with the matter.

"Unhappy France; Unhappy King!"

The newspapers, foremost among them the *Journal des Débats*, which had so often defended the monarchy, opened a chorus of attacks. "Once more is the tie of love and confidence between the monarch and the people torn asunder. What France has gained in forty years of labour and misfortune is now taken away from her; what she rejected with all the strength of her will and force of her desire is now thrust upon her." The *Débats* invoked the shade of John Hampden, and ended with the words, "Unhappy France; unhappy King!" An indictment for high treason only made Bertin, the editor, more outspoken. He called Polignac the man of Coblenz and the Counter-Revolution; Bourmont the "deserter of Waterloo"; Labourdonnaye the advocate of proscription. Admiral de Rigny refused to serve with Bourmont and Labourdonnaye; Chateaubriand resigned his embassy in Rome; Lafayette made a triumphal journey in the south as the "hero of two worlds." A Liberal club was founded in Brittany and in other places, in which Carbonari and Doctrinaires found a common meeting-place.

Polignac and Labourdonnaye.

Polignac was a Rip van Winkle; he knew nothing of modern France. He had spent a large portion of his life either as an *émigré* or as a prisoner of Napoleon at Vincennes. He had no desire to abolish the *Charte*, but wished to emphasise Article 14, which gave the King power to issue necessary regulations and ordinances for the carrying out of the laws and the security of the State. Above all, he was determined to make "no more concessions." Labourdonnaye was a very different character. He detested the Clerical party, but wished to fight everything he considered revolutionary to the bitter end. His cry was, "War with the Revolution; no armistice between it and us!" He said to Apponyi, the Austrian Ambassador, "We are playing not only our game but yours also, and that of all monarchies." But, strongly as he held these principles, he was incapable of carrying them out. Polignac found him useless, and wished to get rid of him, and he resigned on November 17th. Polignac, nominated President of the Council in his stead, was commonly believed to

be really the son of Charles X., and there is no doubt that he bore a decided resemblance to him.

Louis Philippe's Circle.

Several parties continued in opposition to the Bourbons. First were those who wished to place Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, on the throne. He did not break with the Court, but lived quietly at the Palais Royal, without ceremony, sending his sons to the ordinary public schools. At Neuilly, his country house, he collected writers and artists, such as Villemain, Delavigne, Alexandre Dumas, and Ary Scheffer. The leaders of the Left, Laffitte and Dupin, were also seen there. Favour was extended even to Talleyrand, who had said, "*En* 1814 *le retour des Bourbons a rendu les répos à l'Europe ; en* 1830 *ou* 1831 *leur départ pourra rendre le répos à la France.*"

Union of Parties against the Bourbons.

At the beginning of 1830, Talleyrand, with the assistance of Thiers and Mignet, founded a new journal, *Le National,* which was the mouthpiece of the Orleanist party, and Armand Carrel, who had written about the English Revolution of 1688, joined the staff. It was natural to compare the Bourbons with the Stuarts, and the Duc d'Orléans with the Prince of Orange. A similar paper was the *Globe,* in which Rémusat was the principal writer. There was also a party of Republicans. Among them were Trélat, Raspail, Cavaignac, Blanqui, Guinard, Bastide, Joubert and Thomas, along with a number of students and artisans. Their organ was the *Tribune.* They contemplated an insurrection, with Lafayette at their head, which should depose the King and summon a Constitutional Assembly. They were joined also by Bonapartists, who were without a leader of their own. At any rate, the worship of Napoleon undermined the foundations of Bourbonism.

Polignac and Algiers.

The Ministry determined to meet the Chambers on March 2nd, and to confine themselves to passing the budget and a few necessary measures. Polignac hoped to secure a majority by dazzling the nation with a brilliant foreign policy, and for this purpose he drew up the famous "Great Plan" for the reconstitution of Europe, which was rendered impossible by the Peace of Adrianople. Disappointed in this, he determined to make an attack upon another quarter of the Ottoman Empire. Algiers had long been a nest of pirates, which rendered the navigation of the Mediterranean dangerous. Polignac had intended to put an end to this state of things, and was encouraged to do so from St. Petersburg. Indeed, since 1827 a state of semi-war had existed between Algiers and France. The French Consul, insulted by the Bey, had left Algiers ; the French settlers had been made slaves, and the fortifications belonging to the French destroyed. France blockaded the Algerian

coast, an operation which, although extremely costly, was of no use. In 1829, attempts were made to bring about an arrangement, but the Bey fired upon the French ships.

Egypt Declines to Assist France.

This was the state of things when Polignac became Minister. His first idea was to ask for the assistance of Mehmed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who was to receive money and four ships of war and to punish the Bey, and also to suppress the piratical haunts of Tunis and Tripoli. Polignac's colleagues would not agree to this arrangement, and Mehmed Ali rejected the application, which was opposed by the Porte and Great Britain. The French Government was compelled to act by itself, and preparations for an expedition were made in the French arsenal. In a circular note of February 4th Polignac assured the Powers that his only object was to put an end to slavery, piracy, and the paying of tribute. Spain and Sardinia promised their assistance, but it was believed that Great Britain was opposed to any action which might increase the power of France in the Mediterranean.

The Chambers Snub the King

The Chambers met on March 8th, 1830. The speech from the throne mentioned the contemplated expedition to Algiers, but it produced no effect. It concluded thus, "The *Charte* has placed public liberties under the protection of the rights of my Crown. These rights are secured, and my duty to my people consists in handing them down untouched to my successors. Peers of France, Deputies of the Departments! I do not doubt of your co-operation to carry out the good which I have set before myself. You will reject with contempt the mischievous intrigues which seek to spread discontent. If criminal machinations prepare for my Government hindrances which I cannot and will not foresee, I shall find strength to overcome them in my determination to maintain inviolate the public peace, in the true confidence of Frenchmen and the love which they have shown to their kings." The Peers returned a meaningless answer, but the Commons took up the challenge. They chose Royer Collard as President, and under his guidance formulated their Address. They expressed love and reverence for the Royal power, which was now secured against all storms. But they also said that permanent harmony between the Government and the wishes of the people was essential for the proper conduct of public affairs, and added, "Sire, our loyalty and devotion compel us to tell you that this harmony does not exist at present." They begged the King to employ his wisdom and prerogative in restoring constitutional harmony in the powers of the State. After a good deal of discussion the Address was carried by 221 to 181.

The Address was delivered to the King on March 18th. He answered from the throne that he was sorry he could not count upon the co-operation of the Chamber, but his determination was unalterable. The next day, March 19th, the Chambers were prorogued to September 1st. It was obvious that this was the prelude to a dissolution. The Doctrinaires bestirred themselves. Guizot gave new life to the society, *Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera.* The Deputies who had voted for the address were entertained at public banquets. Polignac placed his confidence in Article 14 of the *Charte.*

The King Obdurate.

In the meantime the preparations for the Algiers expedition went on briskly. The fleet consisted of above a hundred ships of war and four hundred transports, together with a military force of 37,000 men. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Duperré. Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, was to have commanded the troops, but he had to give way to Bourmont, the Minister of War.

An ordinance, published on May 16th, dissolved the Chamber, ordered new elections, and fixed the beginning of the new session for August 3rd. Other ordinances announced the changes in the Ministry, the retirement of Courvoisier and Chabrol, and the appointment of Peyronnet, Chantelauze, and Capelle. Polignac strained every nerve to obtain a majority at the elections. Pastoral letters from the bishops vied with ministerial messages. Even the King himself descended into the lists with a party proclamation. "Perform your duty," he declared, "and I will perform mine." Louis XIV. said, "I am the State"; Charles X. said, "I am the Ministry." Polignac placed his confidence in the success of the Algerian expedition. Wellington, somewhat unwisely, opposed the possible aggrandisement of France, but his own days as Minister were nearly numbered. The British Cabinet persuaded the Sultan to send the Kapudan Pasha, Takir, to the Bey of Algiers, either to induce him to submit or to depose him, but the French blockading squadron would not allow Takir to land.

The Chamber Dissolved.

The expedition under Duperré reached Sidi Ferrusch, a few miles west of Algiers, on June 13th, and the troops landed on the following day. On June 19th the army of the Bey was completely defeated and his camp captured. On July 4th the castle was taken after a bombardment, and on July 5th the Bey surrendered, provided his life were spared. The French captured a treasure of 50,000,000 francs, besides immeasurable arms and spoil, the produce of centuries of piracy. The Bey sailed with his private treasure and harem to Naples. Polignac had obtained a

Success of the Expedition.

brilliant success and conferred an inestimable benefit on Europe. But it produced no effect upon the elections, in which the Opposition gained a complete victory: out of 195 Deputies in the Arrondissements no fewer than 140 belonged to the Opposition. The Departments exhibited similar results. There remained the twenty Departments in which the elections had been deferred. Just before they took place the semaphore announced the capture of Algiers. The Archbishop of Paris held a solemn "Te Deum" in Notre Dame, which was attended by the King. A few days later the elections were completed. The majority of 221 in the former Chamber was now raised to 274, and of the 181 who voted against the Address only 99 were returned. When the result of the elections was known Polignac tendered his resignation, but the King refused to receive it. Polignac said, "*Vous voulez donc ma tête, Sire,*" and the King replied, "*Et pourquoi pas?*" His colleagues remained with him in what they called the pass of danger. There now ensued a *coup d'état.*

Polignac's *Coup d'état.*

The fourteenth section of the *Charte* gave the King power to issue ordinances and regulations if the security of the State were in danger, and Polignac affected to believe that this crisis had arrived. He declared that in accordance with the *Charte* he was defending the principles of monarchy against those of democracy. The foundations of the political arrangements should not be shaken, but rather strengthened. The foreign Ministers warned him in vain. One of them compared Polignac's Ministry to a "paradise of fools." Pozzo di Borgo spoke in terms hardly less severe, while Metternich opined that "the age is not made for *coups d'état.*" The Tsar warned the King not to give the Opposition ground for complaint by the violation of legal liberties, and Nesselrode wrote to Paris in the same terms. The Ministry proceeded, however, to act with great deliberation. The Minister of Justice, Chantelauze, argued on the interpretation of Article 14. But it was another matter to put it into practice. At last the King decided to cross the Rubicon, and the Dauphin, from whom better things might have been expected, offered no opposition.

Chantelauze and Peyronnet drew up two ordinances, one of which re-established the censorship of the Press in all its severity and the other dealt with the Chamber. The number of Deputies was reduced to 258, one-fifth to be renewed every year. The Arrondissements were deprived of direct election. They were to prepare a list of candidates, out of which the Departments were to choose half the Deputies. The franchise was altered, and the power of the prefects over the elections was increased. These

ordinances were accepted by the Cabinet on July 24th, and two more were added, one dissolving the Chambers, which had not yet met, and another fixing the new elections and the meeting of the new Chamber for the month of September.

A New Revolution Provoked.

On Sunday, July 25th, the Ministers met at St. Cloud. The King had attended Mass before the meeting of the Council. One of the most devoted adherents of the Pavillon Marsan, the Baron Vitrolles, who had remarked the troubled mien of the Sovereign, adjured several of the Ministers not to play with fire, but received unsatisfactory answers. In the Council the King hesitated a moment before he signed the first two ordinances, concerning the Press and the elections, then he said, "The more I reflect upon it the more I am convinced that it is impossible to act otherwise." He then signed them, and all the Ministers likewise. Asked whether the ordinances would not provoke disturbances, Polignac said they would not, but that, if they did, he was ready to suppress them. The chief military command was given to Marmont, but nothing was said to him upon the subject. Even the Prefect of Police of Paris knew nothing about the matter till the evening. At 11 p.m. Sauvo, the editor of the *Moniteur*, received the fatal documents from Chantelauze, in the presence of Montbel, for the purpose of printing them. He said, "I have seen all the days of the Revolution, and I shrink with deep horror from new convulsions." The Revolution which destroyed the throne of Charles X. was to shake the foundations of every State in Europe.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY

Mutterings of the Storm.

ON July 26th, 1830, the *Moniteur* published the fatal ordinances and on that day Charles X. went to shoot at Rambouillet and was not to return to St. Cloud till the evening. In the Paris streets groups discussed the illegality of the ordinances and talked about refusing taxes. When the Bourse opened the funds fell four francs. Some young men mounted on the chairs of the Palais Royal and asked if France were to be deprived of her liberties. They were dispersed by the gendarmes, but re-formed amid cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" Between 6 and 7 in the evening workmen tramped along the boulevards crying, "*Vive la Charte!*" "*À bas les Ministres!*" Two Ministers, Polignac and Haussez, were insulted and stones thrown at them. This day nothing decisive took place. The theatres were full and the popular balls frequented. Charles and the Dauphin came back from Rambouillet. The Duchesse de Berri congratulated him on being at length King, and he went quietly to bed.

It was not till the morning of July 27th that the King informed Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, of the ordinance which invested him with the supreme command of the army of Paris. Charles and Polignac appeared very calm, but excitement grew in Paris, first among the printers and the students. The morning papers were very outspoken, especially the *National*, the *Globe*, and the *Temps*. The *Journal des Débats* and the *Constitutionnel* were more moderate. The police attempted to seize the *National*, edited by Thiers, Mignet and Carrel. The doors were closed, and the seizure had to be carried out by force. A similar scene took place at the office of the *Temps*.

Paris Under Arms.

Marmont, as soon as he reached his office, heard that crowds were collecting in the Rue St. Honoré, and that stones were being thrown at the gendarmes. He ordered the troops to leave their barracks and to march, with some cannon, to the Boulevard des Capucins, the Carrousel, the Place Louis XV., the Pont Neuf, the Place Vendôme, the Place de la Bastille, and other quarters. The troops did not meet with serious resistance. Some barricades had been erected in the Rue St. Honoré, firing had taken place,

and an old man had been killed. The movement spread and, in the evening, the insurgents occupied the Royal printing press. Several barriers were burned and many lamps broken, leaving the city in darkness. About 9 p.m. the crowds dispersed and the soldiers returned to their barracks, thinking that everything was over. Ministers determined to declare Paris in a state of siege, but Charles X. passed the evening in playing whist, according to his custom.

During the night several streets were torn up and barricades erected, and the shops of gunsmiths plundered. In a few hours the insurgents were masters of the arsenal, the powder magazines, the prison of the Abbaye, and the depot of arms of St. Thomas d'Aquin. The Hôtel de Ville was seized by revolutionaries, who hoisted the tricolour flag with cries of *" Vive la Charte ! "* *" À bas les Ministres ! "* *" À bas les Bourbons ! "* De Broglie, Rémusat and Cousin met at Guizot's house, and Carrel came to tell them that all was lost, so little hope had they of success. Marmont placed his troops where they had been stationed before and wrote to the King that it was not an *émeute*, but a revolution, and that the King should adopt measures of pacification. Charles X. was, however, badly advised, and the revolt grew apace. The students of the Polytechnic School broke out and joined the mob. The tocsin sounded from the Hôtel de Ville, a huge tricolour floated from the towers of Notre Dame, and the bells announced civil war. Ministers collected at the Tuileries, where Marmont was awaiting impatiently an answer from St. Cloud. At midday he put his troops into motion, but they were fired at from the windows and attacked by women and children. In some cases the soldiers were compelled to surrender. At 3 p.m. Marmont ordered the arrest of some Deputies, amongst them Lafayette and Laffitte.

" À bas les Bourbons ! "

At this time the Chamber was discussing what should be done, and a committee of five was appointed to beg Marmont to suspend hostilities and intervene between Paris and St. Cloud. Even before this Arago had sought out Marmont at the Tuileries, and begged him to go to St. Cloud and tell the King that he would resign his command if the ordinances were not repealed. The Marshal, however, considered this incompatible with his honour as a soldier.

The King Temporises.

Marmont now wrote to the King that it was imperative he should lose no time in profiting by the overtures in progress. He sent the letter by his first aide-de-camp, who gave the letter to Charles in his study, warning him, " It is not the mob, but the whole population that is rising." The King only replied by thanking the troops for their devotion, and telling Marmont to hold

firm, that he would give him fresh orders on the following day. Some Bonapartists, partisans of the Duke of Reichstadt, now made their appearance, and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were heard. Laffitte also began to think of the Duc d'Orléans, who was at Neuilly. The Royalists did their best to stir their Sovereign to action, but without effect.

Paris in Revolt.

In the meantime the fighting in the streets continued. Almost the whole population favoured the insurgents. Some of the National Guard gave their arms to the people; peasants appeared upon the scene, armed with scythes and pitchforks. But the insurgents were without a leader. In the evening Marmont found it necessary to concentrate his troops, who had lost, in killed, wounded and missing, 2,300 men. He then held the Tuileries and the Louvre, but the Hôtel de Ville and the greater part of Paris were in the hands of the revolutionaries. He could maintain his ground, but could not conquer the city. It was now determined to summon the regiments of the Guard from Beauvais, Orléans, Rouen and Caen, and from the camps of St. Omer and Luneville. The students of the school of St. Cyr were summoned to St. Cloud with their artillery.

The King Plays Whist.

In the midst of the disturbance Charles X. preserved his calmness, and said that the Virgin had appeared to Monsieur de Polignac and encouraged him to persevere. Vitrolles entreated the King to stop the firing, but he replied that it would soon be over and the leaders of the revolt would submit; they might have confidence in his lenience. At St. Cloud everything went on as usual; the King played whist, and the Dauphin chess. The fire of artillery shook the windows, but it was not considered good taste for anyone to notice it. As the King was going to bed, the Duc de Montemart arrived and begged the King to recall the ordinances, but he would listen to nothing. "You were born in the Revolution," he said, "and have unconsciously adopted its prejudices and its fatal ideas. My old experience is impervious to the illusions. I know whither the concessions which are asked for will lead me, and I have no wish to ascend the tumbril like my brother."

The People Find a Leader.

The 29th of July now dawned, the last day of the Monarchy of the Restoration. From 5 a.m the sound of musketry was heard on all sides. On the left bank of the Seine the Invalides and the École Militaire fell into the hands of the people, while the King's troops still occupied the Louvre, the Carrousel, the palace and gardens of the Tuileries, the Place Louis XV., the Boulevard of the Madeleine, and the Place Vendôme. Marmont said that he could hold out for a month, but he was surrounded by batteries and

could only retreat towards the Champs Élysées. But the populace had no leader until Dubourg, who had seen service under the Empire, presented himself.

The King Weeps.

Marmont summoned the twelve mayors of Paris to confer with him, but only three appeared. At 7.30, two peers, Sémonville and Agout, came to the Tuileries and asked Marmont to put them into communication with M. de Polignac. They demanded, supported by Marmont, the cessation of hostilities, the recall of the ordinances, and the resignation of the Ministry. The conversation soon degenerated into a quarrel; the other Ministers joined in the discussion, and it became evident that Polignac stood alone in his obstinacy. Then the two peers and the Ministers set off for St. Cloud. As they were going, the Marshal assured them that, if necessary, he could hold out for a fortnight. On arriving at St. Cloud, Sémonville threw himself at the feet of the King, begged him to withdraw the ordinances and to form a new Chamber under the Duc de Montemart, of which Gérard and Casimir Périer should form part, and to give a complete amnesty. The suggestion that the Dauphiness, who was at Vichy, might be exposed to personal danger had more effect upon the King, and he wept. He at last consented to summon his Council.

The Swiss Guard Again.

In the meantime the situation in Paris had grown desperate. Two regiments of the line, who occupied the Place Vendôme, were tampered with and eventually persuaded to retire by a speech of Casimir Périer. This exposed the Tuileries, and Marmont determined to recall a battalion from the Louvre. In the confusion some of the insurgents climbed up into the palace and fired upon the Swiss in the inner court. Others fired upon the troops in the Carrousel. The Swiss offered some resistance, but at length withdrew and deserted the Louvre for the Tuileries. This retreat threw everything into confusion. Seeing the Swiss retire, two battalions of the Guard who were posted in the gardens of the Tuileries marched into the Champs Élysées, towards the Barrière de l'Étoile and the Arc de Triomphe. Marmont was obliged to order a general retreat, and as soon as he left the Tuileries the tricolour flag was hoisted on the clock tower. The palace was saved from pillage, but the residence of the Archbishop did not escape so easily. The last struggle was around some barracks in the Rue de Babylon, in which 200 Swiss had taken refuge. This was besieged for several hours by insurgents, led by pupils of the Polytechnic School, and was eventually set on fire. Almost all the Swiss perished, together with their brave leader, Dufoy. The

struggle was now over, and the authority of the King had ceased to exist in Paris.

Lafayette Takes Command.

It was necessary to form a provisional Government and some Deputies met at the house of Laffitte for that purpose. After much discussion Lafayette arrived. He had been pressed to take command of the National Guard, and now consented. He said, "An old man of eighty-nine may be of some use in the grave condition in which we are placed. We are attacked and must defend ourselves." Hearing of the capture of the Louvre, he promised to take the lead. Guizot said that the safety of Paris depended on his determination. "We must establish, not a provisional Government, but a public authority, which, under a municipal form, shall devote itself to the restoration and maintenance of order." A committee was chosen by ballot, consisting of Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Gérard, the Comte de Lobau and Odier, who, however, refused to act. It was publicly announced by Laffitte that Lafayette undertook the command of the National Guard and General Gérard of the troops of the line. The regiments of the line now began to come in.

The Scene at St. Cloud.

In the evening the newspapers which had been previously suppressed made their appearance. The *Débats* said: "For three days Paris has been bombarded and been taken by assault, and blood has flowed in the streets. Who ordered this massacre? The Ministers of the King of France. Why in the name of Heaven? Because they have violated the *Charte* and laboured to establish absolute sovereignty. The compact is now broken, and it is not we who have broken it. Our enemies have thrown themselves outside the circle of the law. Let them remain there." Thus the night passed. In the meantime, Marmont, with his troops, retreated, with some difficulty, to St. Cloud. He told Charles that he had failed to maintain the authority of the King in Paris. The Swiss, who garrisoned the Louvre, had been seized by panic and fled, and he, Marmont, had not been able to rally his troops until he reached the Étoile, when he had marched to St. Cloud. An officer had been slain by his side, and he wished he had been killed himself; death would have been preferable to what he had seen.

Thereupon the Council deliberated, and it was resolved to recall the ordinances and form a new Cabinet. The King said, with emotion, "I am compelled to dismiss Ministers who possess all my confidence and affection, and to take others given to me by my enemies. I am in a similar position to that of my unfortunate brother in the year 1792, but I have the advantage of

having suffered for a shorter period; in three days the Monarchy will be at an end and the Monarch will go with it. If I must, I summon the Duc de Montemart and send him to Paris. I am sorry that he has acquired the confidence of my enemies; if he has been wrong, he is well punished for it."

A Deputation to Paris.

It was now 3 p.m. Charles went into his study, and Montemart was summoned thither. "You are right," said the King to him, alluding to his conversation in the morning. "The situation is worse than I had imagined, but it is believed that a Ministry of which you are the head can arrange everything, and I nominate you President of the Council, with General Gérard, Casimir Périer, and M. Hausmann as your colleagues." Montemart would not accept office until forced to do so by his Sovereign. He then waited till the Dauphin returned from Paris, which was not till 5 p.m. At 6 o'clock Sémonville, Vitrolles and Agout returned to the capital, bearing the news of the establishment of the new Ministry and the recall of the ordinances. The evening passed at St. Cloud as usual. The King played whist, first with Polignac and then with Montemart, and the Dauphin chess. Montemart was not permitted to go to Paris, although he earnestly desired to do so.

Its Reception by the Revolutionaries.

The journey of the three negotiators to Paris was accomplished with difficulty. Their intention was to go to the house of Laffitte, where they expected to find General Gérard. They were surprised to learn that Lafayette was at the Hôtel de Ville, and that a provisional Government had been established, of which nothing was known at St. Cloud. As they proceeded there, interrupted by barricades, they heard cries of "*Vive la Liberté!*" and "*Vive la Charte!*" but very rarely "*Vive le Roi!*" Sémonville embraced Lafayette, told him of his commission, and of the approaching arrival of M. de Montemart, but could not assure him that the tricolour flag would be maintained. Agout then went to the house of Laffitte, where he found, among other persons, Thiers, Mignet, the Duc de Broglie, and the poet Béranger. The courtyard and the street were filled by a crowd of students, workmen, and National Guards, armed and unarmed, who were strongly opposed to any compromise. Laffitte declared his willingness to accept the proposals, but doubted whether they would meet with the consent of the people. It was now between 10 and 11 p.m. and Montemart was hourly expected, but he was playing whist at St. Cloud. Thiers and Mignet were of opinion that the Revolution, once begun, could not be arrested, and opinion began to turn towards the House of Orléans. These discussions were continued

far into the night, when it was agreed to meet at Laffitte's at 8 o'clock in the morning.

Montemart Goes to Paris.

At St. Cloud the King had gone to bed without signing the new ordinances. Montemart went to sleep on a sofa, and was roused at 3 a.m. by Vitrolles and Agout, who urged him to hasten to Paris. He was ready to do so, but objected he had no ordinances and no powers. They determined to rouse the King, who consented to see Vitrolles. Five ordinances were signed, one of which established the National Guard; but no mention was made of the tricolour flag or of Lafayette. The signature of the King was obtained with difficulty, and Montemart was at length able to set out for Paris. The Dauphin had forbidden any horse to leave the royal stables, and Montemart had to ride in a private carriage. This caused great delay, and he did not reach Laffitte's house till midday. By this time a placard had been posted in Paris, drawn up by Mignet, designating the Duc d'Orléans for the Crown. This produced considerable effect and cries of "*Vive le Duc d'Orléans!*" were mingled with cries of "*Vive la Liberté!*" It appeared that the large majority of the Deputies were in favour of the Duc d'Orléans. It was also obvious that Montemart had come too late.

The Duc d'Orléans is Favoured.

There had hitherto been some doubts as to the intentions of the Duc d'Orléans. Fearing arrest, he had left his wife and sister, his *confidante*, known as Madame Adelaide, at his place at Neuilly, and had himself proceeded on horseback to the Park of Raincy. Thiers, who had been sent to Neuilly to sound the Duke, explained his views to the two ladies. The Duchess remained unconvinced, but Madame Adelaide was persuaded that her brother ought to accept, and sent a message to Raincy.

The Deputies, sixty in number, assembled at midday, only one member of the Right, Hyde de Neuville, being present. Laffitte took the chair. Three solutions were possible—to accept the proposals of Charles X.; to permit his abdication, with the Dauphin as King, or the Duc de Bordeaux, under the Regency of the Duc d'Orléans; or the accession of the Duc d'Orléans to the throne. The majority of the Deputies would have preferred to keep the elder branch on the throne. Montemart was anxiously expected, but did not appear; on the other hand, Thiers arrived from Neuilly and announced that they could depend upon the Duc d'Orléans. There was a strong movement in his favour, and a committee was appointed to determine what should be done to conciliate all interests and consciences.

Montemart, at the Luxembourg, issued orders as Prime Minister,

which produced no effect whatever, and were not listened to; but he declined to go either to the Palais Bourbon or to the Hôtel de Ville. When the five commissioners of the Deputies arrived at the Luxembourg they said, in the presence of Montemart, that the only way of putting an end to the anarchy was to appoint the Duc d'Orléans to be Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Montemart agreed with them, but, as a Minister, protested against the propositions. The new ordinances of Charles X. now arrived, but no one would receive them for fear of recognising his authority —neither Laffitte at the Luxembourg, nor Lafayette at the Hôtel de Ville. When they were eventually read there were cries of "Who dares to bring here the orders of Charles X.?" "There is no King in France!" "Down with the Bourbons!"

The Duc d'Orléans Summoned to Paris.

The Chamber of Deputies was greatly perplexed. Some wished for an arrangement with the monarchy, some for a republic, but eventually a motion to summon the Duc d'Orléans to Paris as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom was carried unanimously. The sitting broke up at 6 p.m., and a message was sent to the Duc d'Orléans urging him to come at once. He reached the Palais Royal on foot at 11.30 p.m., accompanied by two aides-de-camp. At 4 a.m. the Duc d'Orléans sent for Montemart. The Prime Minister found the Duke lying on a sofa, overcome by fatigue. It is not exactly known what passed between them, but it is certain that Orléans wrote a letter to the King, excusing his action on the ground that he desired to preserve the public peace.

At St. Cloud Charles X. awaited with anxiety the effect of Montemart's mission, while the Duc d'Angoulême regretted openly the weakness of his father in surrendering his position. Marmont counselled the King to retire to Blois or Tours, while there was yet time. Polignac advised him to refuse. No news of what was passing at Paris reached St. Cloud, and at the usual hour the King went to bed. But, being aroused by a false alarm of an attack upon the château, he was awakened and left for the Trianon at Versailles with the Duchesse de Berri at 3 a.m., at the very time that the Duc d'Orléans was holding his interview with Montemart. The Dauphin was left at St. Cloud and the King reached the Trianon with difficulty.

The Dauphin Takes Action.

On July 31st, just before midday, the Dauphin left St. Cloud with about ten cannon and some 12,000 men. A combat took place at the Bridge of Sèvres in which the Dauphin was not successful, and he was obliged to make for the Trianon with all speed. At the Trianon a council was held, in which serious measures were adopted. After this the Court proceeded to Rambouillet, which

was reached at 10 p.m., the King on horseback, the Duchesse de Berri in a carriage. Here the Ministers left their Sovereign and sought their own safety in different directions. The Dauphin came to Rambouillet with his little army and encamped round the château, but there was no money to feed or to pay the men.

The Duke Appointed Lieutenant-General.

At the Palais Royal the Duc d'Orléans conferred at an early hour with his usual advisers, Dupin, General Sebastiani, Laffitte, Casimir Périer, Broglie and Guizot. Invited by the committee of Deputies to accept the post of Lieutenant-General, he demanded time for reflection. Thereupon he was informed there was real danger of the proclamation of a Republic, and he yielded. He drew up a proclamation stating that he accepted the post, and 10,000 copies were printed and exhibited on the walls of Paris. The municipality declared that Charles X. had ceased to reign, and the Deputies at the Palais Bourbon agreed to a proclamation setting forth that the Duc d'Orléans had been invited to become Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and promised the restoration of the National Guard, with the election of officers, self-government in departments and communes, juries for offences of the peace, responsibilities of Ministers, and the re-election of Deputies appointed to public posts. The whole body rose and voted this without discussion.

The Deputies then walked to the Palais Royal in order to accompany the Duc d'Orléans to the Hôtel de Ville, Laffitte being carried in a sedan-chair. Laffitte read the manifesto passed by the Deputies, and the Duke replied, "Messieurs, the principles you proclaim are mine; I will labour like you and with you for the happiness of France. Deputies will understand me when I declare that I grieve deeply over the deplorable circumstances which compel me to accept the mission which they entrust to me and of which I hope to show myself worthy." The Duke then embraced Laffitte amidst general applause.

An Undignified Progress.

The Duke next rode on horseback to the Hôtel de Ville, accompanied by the Deputies. The procession was not a dignified one, but it arrived without accident, the Duke having occasionally to climb over the barricades. The crowd was very large, and the tricolour was everywhere visible, but as they reached their destination cries of "*Plus de Bourbons!*" were heard. At the staircase they were met by Lafayette, and the Duke said, "It is an old National Guard coming to pay a visit to his former general." The manifesto of the Deputies was read, but without much enthusiasm. Dubourg once more tried to make himself conspicuous.

He broke through the crowd and said to the Duke, "I am glad to believe that you will not break your oath, but if you do we shall know how to keep you to it." The Duke replied, "Sir, to address me in this way shows you do not know me. I am an honest man, and no one has ever needed to remind me of my promises." Dubourg retired crestfallen, and disappeared till the next revolution. Lafayette gave the Duke the tricolour flag, and led him on to the balcony. They embraced in public, and the crowd applauded. The Duke returned in triumph to the Palais Royal.

The Duke and the Republicans.

The Republicans of the National Guard were reconciled. Thiers succeeded in obtaining for them an interview with the Duke, in which a curious conversation took place. One of them said, "To-morrow, sire, you will be king. Perhaps this is the last occasion on which you will hear the truth. Allow me to tell it to you."

In the conversation which ensued, the Duke alluded to the excesses of the Convention. "Monseigneur forgets," said M. Cavaignac, "that my father was a member of the Convention."

"So was mine," said the Duke, "and I may be allowed to save my country from the excitement of which he was the victim."

When the Republicans withdrew Thiers asked them what they thought of the Duke. "He is a good fellow," Bastide replied, but Cavaignac objected that he was not honest.

A species of Cabinet was now formed, with Dupont de l'Eure at the Ministry of Justice, Gérard at the War Office, Rigny in charge of the Navy, Bignon of Foreign Affairs, Guizot of Education, Broglie of the Home Office and Public Works, Baron Louis of the Finances. A National Guard of twenty regiments was voted. The Duke signed ordinances establishing the tricolour and summoning the Chambers for August 3rd.

The King Submits.

The Dauphiness, who had been at Vichy, reached Rambouillet on August 1st. Charles X. ran up to her, seized her in his arms, and said, "Can you ever pardon me?" She replied, "Let bygones be bygones." Everything was lost, and the King submitted to destiny. He sent to Orléans the following declaration: "The King, wishing to put an end to the troubles in the capital and in parts of France, counting also on the sincere attachment of his cousin the Duc d'Orléans, nominates him Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. The King, having thought it advisable to withdraw the ordinances of July 25th, approves of the Chambers meeting on August 3rd, and hopes that they will restore tranquillity to France. The King will await at Rambouillet the return of the person who is charged with the message to Paris; if any attempt be made against the life or liberty of the King or his

family he will defend himself to the death." At the same time, the Dauphin addressed to the troops an order of the day, in which he told them that the King had made an arrangement with the Government established at Paris, which he had every reason to believe would be satisfactory. He pointed out that the duty of the soldiers was to remain calm and united and to watch over the personal safety of the King.

Abdication of the King.

The King's letter was received by the Duc d'Orléans at 1 in the morning of August 2nd. The Duke was elaborating, with M. Dupin, the speech which he was to make at the opening of the Chambers. He answered that he was made Lieutenant-General by the choice of the Deputies and could not accept any other nomination. This letter was delivered to Charles X. at 7 a.m., and he returned no answer to it. On that day, August 2nd, three regiments of heavy cavalry passed over to the insurrection. Desertions from the regiments of the Guard at Rambouillet became frequent, and there only remained round the King three regiments of light cavalry and a regiment of the Guard, and for them it was difficult to provide. Charles had contemplated abdication in favour of the Duc de Bordeaux, and Marmont supported the project, but the Dauphin was violently opposed to it. At last the Dauphin gave way, and the act of abdication was drawn up and signed and sent to the Duc d'Orléans. The King called upon the Duke to recognise and proclaim his grandson as Henry V. The act of abdication reached the Duke at 11 p.m. He replied that it would be communicated to the Chambers and deposited in the archives of the State.

The King Receives a Deputation.

The continued sojourn of Charles X. at Rambouillet became dangerous both to himself and the Government. It was agreed, therefore, that a Commission should be sent to him, consisting of Marshal Mortier to represent the army, Schérer and Jacqueminot to represent the Chambers, and Odilon Barrot to represent the National Guard. Barrot left the Palais Royal at 4.30 p.m., with the Commission, Maison, however, replacing Mortier, who had declined to serve. They arrived at Rambouillet at 10 p.m., and were told that the King could not be disturbed. At length the Duc de Coigny, who alone wore the white cockade, was admitted. "The Lieutenant-General," explained Charles, "should have received the generous deed which I signed this morning with the view of stopping the march of 800,000 foreign soldiers who are ready to swoop down upon France. It is for the Lieutenant-General to give this act full effect. For myself I have only one thing to reproach myself with—that I began an

enterprise which was to strengthen my throne with 8,000 men instead of 60,000." The Commission immediately returned and reached Paris at 4 a.m. The Duc d'Orléans was aroused, and with some reluctance gave orders to Lafayette to despatch 6,000 of the National Guard to Rambouillet.

The March to Rambouillet.

When this was known, there was general excitement in the capital. Cries were raised of "To Rambouillet! To Rambouillet!" The populace assembled, armed with sabres, pistols, pitchforks, spades, and even spits, and dressed as occasion served. Their march recalled that of the market women to Versailles on October 5th, 1789. A deputation approached Charles X. He said, "Well, what do you wish me to do?" Barrot answered that an armed column of the population of Paris was at hand, and that he wished to avoid a conflict which would be useless, since he and the Dauphin had abdicated. Charles replied, "It is true that I have abdicated, but in favour of my grandson, and I am determined to defend his rights to the last drop of my blood."

The King Retires to Maintenon.

After further conversation, Charles asked Marshal Maison how many of the insurgents there were, and he replied, sixty or eighty thousand. "It is enough," cried the King; "in a quarter of an hour I will let you know what I have decided to do." After consulting with Marmont the King determined to retire to Maintenon, the château of the Duc de Noailles, and there he arrived at 4 a.m. As soon as he had left, the tricolour was hoisted at Rambouillet. It has been stated that Maison exaggerated the number of the insurgents, and the Duc de Luxembourg, captain of the Guards, complained he had committed an act of great folly in not firing on the mob and thus ridding the Duc d'Orléans of "*toute cette canaille.*" But it is doubtful whether, if Charles had resisted, the soldiers of his Guard would have remained faithful.

Flight to England.

At Maintenon Charles resolved to abandon all thought of resistance and leave the country. His army was disbanded, with the exception of about 1,000 bodyguard and two cannon, which served as an escort. Travelling by slow stages, he reached Cherbourg on August 14th, experiencing neither favour nor insult among the people through whom he passed, except that a hostile demonstration was made in Cherbourg itself. The exiled King maintained his dignity, but occasionally shed tears. On August 14th the King and his family embarked on the American ship *Great Britain,* which had been hired and furnished by the French Government, and in three days reached the coast of England. To the Englishmen who visited him he said, "This is my reward for endeavouring to make France happy."

CHAPTER XXII

THE CREATION OF BELGIUM

The French Driven from the Netherlands.

THE Northern and Southern Netherlands, better known now under the names of Holland and Belgium, had, after a separation of two hundred years, been united under the sceptre of Napoleon. Belgium was made an integral part of France, while Holland enjoyed the semblance of political independence. The Prince of Orange, who had fled to England on the occupation of Holland by the French, took part in the war against Napoleon, fought with distinction at Waterloo, and was restored to his country. Barely a month after the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig, risings against the French took place at Amsterdam and The Hague; the French officials were driven out; a declaration of independence was published, and a provisional Government was set up in the name of the Prince of Orange. The Prince himself landed at Scheveningen on November 30th, 1813, and was received with joy by the whole population. On the following day he was recognised as William I., King of the Netherlands.

Constitution of the Netherlands.

A Constitution was established, under the name of a Fundamental Law, drawn up by Van Hoogendorp, and finally passed on March 30th, 1814. It decreed an almost absolute monarchy. The Sovereign, besides executive, had considerable legislative power, authority of peace and war, the control of finance, the fleet, and the army. The princes were deprived of the power which they had possessed in the palmy days of the Republic, which made the United Netherlands one of the loosest confederations known in history. There was a species of parliament, bearing the name of States General, consisting of fifty-five members, nominated for three years by the Provincial States. They had the power of initiating legislation and of imposing a veto on it, and they had authority over extraordinary legislation, but there was no responsible Ministry and no liberty of the Press.

To this new monarchy the Congress of Vienna was good enough to add the provinces of Belgium. Without being consulted, the Belgians were placed under the sceptre of the King of Holland, no regard being had to national history or ideals, but merely with a view to setting up a barrier against the power of France. This

scheme was mainly due to the efforts of British statesmen, working in conjunction with the Prince of Orange, who was settled in England. Great Britain received as her reward the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana, and other colonies which had been captured by her from France, on the pretence that they were being held in pawn for a liberated Holland. It was a disgraceful instance of political traffic, as dishonest as anything which has been laid to the charge of Napoleon.

The Eight Articles of London.

Belgium was treated as a conquered country, which might be disposed of by the great Powers as they pleased; the Austrians, to whom the Provinces had previously belonged, were always anxious to get rid of them. The document determining these arrangements is known as the Eight Articles of London, which was signed on June 14th, 1814. The return of Napoleon from Elba consolidated the union of the two States. On March 16th, 1815, the new King issued a proclamation, assuming the title of King of the Netherlands and Duke of Luxemburg. Holland and Belgium accepted their fate without a murmur, the foreign Powers were delighted to give their assent, and the Kingdom was officially recognised on May 23rd. Dutch and Belgian troops fought side by side in the Waterloo campaign, under the command of the Prince of Orange, so that the union was cemented by bloodshed in the common cause.

The Belgians Overwhelmed.

At this time the population of Holland was barely two millions, whereas that of Belgium was nearly three millions and a half. Belgium was divided into two parts, each speaking a different language, Flemish or Walloon, while the usual language of society was French. Belgium was Catholic, Holland Calvinistic; the Dutch were a seafaring nation, the Belgians farmers and manufacturers. When the Constitution of the kingdom came to be discussed, the Belgians demanded a representation based on population, the Dutch insisted upon equality. The Constitution, including the Eight Articles of London, which had hitherto been kept secret, was passed unanimously by the Dutch, but in Belgium there was a majority of 269 against it. This was got over by the King declaring that the Notables who had been summoned to the meeting, but had not attended, were to be regarded as voting for the Constitution; absence gave assent. In this way a negative majority of 269 was turned into an affirmative one of 263.

It was not likely that these two yoke-fellows would pull well together. From the very first differences of opinion arose, which gradually became more violent and eventually caused the separation of the two countries some fifteen years after they had been

united. The Belgians complained of the unequal division of the national representation, of the unfair apportionment of the national debt, of the fact that the taxes were imposed more in the interest of Holland than in that of Belgium, the Belgians being heavily hit by the taxes on grinding corn and slaughtering animals, now imposed for the first time. It was urged, on the other side, that the national debt was raised to protect the colonies, which were the common property of Belgium and Holland, and to restore barrier fortresses, which existed to defend Belgium against the attacks of France; that the apportionment of the taxes followed the provisions of the Constitution, as did the prerogative of the Crown to nominate members of the Upper Chamber for life.

Dutch Supremacy.

It was pointed out in reply that flaws in the Constitution, the predominant power of the Crown, the lack of mutual responsibility, the fixing of the budget for ten years, which withdrew from the Chambers the power of controlling finance, the defects of the courts of justice, the harshness of the Press laws, could be remedied by constitutional means as time went on. At the outset both French and Dutch had been recognised as official languages, but in 1819 the knowledge of Dutch was made obligatory for admission to all public offices and employments, and in 1822 Dutch was recognised as the official and made the national language. It is true that French was only the language of the wealthy classes and the large towns, and that Flemish, which closely resembles Dutch, had at that time no literature. The development of Flemish literature in the last hundred years is, in fact, largely due to the influence of Belgian antagonism to Dutch supremacy. But the establishment of the Dutch language was resented by the Walloons, whose language resembled French, and who formed no inconsiderable part of the population of Belgium.

Religious Differences.

The next grievance lay in the difference of religion. Belgium was deeply religious, and the Catholic clergy had great influence. It was a constant complaint that the Royal house of Holland was Calvinistic, which meant that Catholic Belgians were governed by Protestant Dutch. The leader of the Catholic opposition was Prince Maurice de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent, a man of fervent religious zeal, but fiery and obstinate temper. In 1815 he sent a pastoral letter, in which he forbade the Notables of his diocese to vote for a fundamental law which was opposed to the rights of the Catholic Church, and when the King declared the Constitution accepted the bishop declared the taking of the oath to it to be an act of treason to the best interests of religion. This action was supported by the Pope, and when the Bishop of Ghent

was summoned before the Court of Assizes at Brussels he refused to admit the competency of the court, took refuge in France, and in October, 1817, was condemned for contumacy. He, however, continued to rule the province through the Vicar-General, and his pastoral letters, dated from Paris, were received with submission by his flock. The Vicar-General was summoned before the court in 1821, but was acquitted.

Advantages of the Monarchy.

It is true that, as time went on, a more pacific feeling developed. North and South began gradually to coalesce. The disaffected modified their views and felt that Dutch Government was, on the whole, favourable to education and enlightenment. The Belgian nobles and clergy, however, continued their opposition to a Government which they regarded as foreign, and the country people were superstitious and ignorant. But the townsfolk, who had no sympathy, on the one hand, with feudal principles and privileges, and, on the other, with democratic exaggeration, began to appreciate the advantages of a constitutional monarchy. The populations began to mix. Belgian manufacturers settled in the Dutch cities, and Dutch men of business became active in Flanders and Brabant. A Central Party was formed, averse to the emphasising of national and religious differences, and favourable to moderation and compromise. They looked upon the House of Orange as their best support. Even the King—although he was distasteful to the nobles because of the simplicity of his habits and his dislike of ceremony, and to the democracy because of his hatred of Romanism and French authors—was popular with and respected by the Belgian shopkeepers. They were little affected by his avaricious disposition, his lack of generosity, his coldness and lack of sympathy; they preferred his dull, prosaic character to the dangerous romanticism of the age. Unfortunately, his personal qualities were not calculated to favour the assimilation of the two parties. His obstinate disposition brooked no opposition, and he disdained the co-operation of broad-minded ministers like Hoogendorp and Falck. Servile natures like Van Maanen were more to his taste. He was not suited for the part of a constitutional King. He preferred personal rule, in which he should be the centre of everything, the soul of the political body.

The Education Question.

Disputes about education fanned the smouldering embers into a flame. The Dutch Government desired to place all education in the hands of the State, to restrict the influence of the religious Orders, especially of the Jesuits, in the teaching of the young, and to prevent the young Belgian nobility from being educated

in foreign convents. The Clericals declared themselves friends of religious freedom and demanded complete toleration in all matters of education. The Liberals were ready to meet the Clericals half-way, and the middle classes were offended at the corn and slaughtering taxes, which had been lately introduced.

An Insurgent Press.

De Gerlache led the movement of opposition, while the Liberals found a leader in Louis de Potter, a man of independent fortune, who had been much occupied in literary pursuits, especially in ecclesiastical history. An attempt of the King to bring about a concordat made matters worse. In December, 1828, De Potter was condemned to imprisonment and fine for an article he had written, and the Government was assailed by a storm of petitions. A work by Lammenais in favour of religious democracy increased the agitation. De Potter issued from his cell a book demanding freedom of the Press, and he also advocated the separation of Church and State. The Union, as it is now called, between Catholics and Liberals was supported by writers who afterwards became famous, such as Ducpetiaux, Nothomb, Van de Weyer, Gendebien, Lebeau, and Rogier. The Government attempted to meet this onslaught of the Press by the establishment of a paper called the *National*, of which Libri Bagno was made editor. He was a man of bad personal character, and had even been condemned in France to hard labour for forgery. He declared that the Belgians ought to be muzzled like dogs, an opinion which was supposed to be held also by Van Maanen, Minister of Justice. Both men became objects of execration, which was intensified when it was found that Bagno was receiving a large subsidy from the Government.

"Infamous" Reformers.

The King was distressed at these revolutionary movements, and ascribed them to intriguers who, with no other end in view than their own interest, stirred up the people and brought about this unnatural union of parties. His warm reception by the middle class in the Belgian cities strengthened him in the belief that the discontent was the work only of a few. At Liége he stigmatised the conduct of the reformers as infamous. The appellation was seized upon as the term " beggars " had been in the revolt of the Netherlands three centuries before. A league was formed and a medal struck with the legend, " Faithful even to Infamy." The higher clergy began to be alarmed at the union of Catholics and Liberals, and this nervous feeling spread to Rome. Compromise was difficult owing to the aristocratic temper of the King, who rejected any submission, and the situation was aggravated at the opening of the States-General on December 11th, 1829,

when the King laid the whole blame for the discontent upon the Press. It was clear that the King was determined to maintain his attitude of defiance and suffer no changes in the Ministry. Next day a circular was issued by Van Maanen, calling upon all officials to give their adherence to the principles laid down in the Royal message by which the Chambers were opened.

Restrictive Measures.

This circular produced a similar effect in Belgium to that which the ordinances of July produced in Paris. One newspaper spoke of refusing taxes, and the budget was passed with the greatest difficulty. De Potter published a *Letter of Demophilus to the King*, in which he said, "No, Sire, you are not the master of the Belgians, as people would have you believe; you are only the first among them; you are not the master of the State, you are only its head, the most elevated of its functionaries." In February, 1830, De Potter, with two of his friends, Tillemans and Bartels, the editor of a Catholic newspaper, were brought before the law and condemned—De Potter to eight, the other two to seven years' banishment. The King thought he had conquered, and it is true that the Revolution of July exercised no apparent influence at Brussels. Louis Philippe, the new King of France, remained on good terms with the Dutch Government, and the fifty-eighth birthday of the King was celebrated with rejoicings on August 24th.

The Revolution Opens.

This, however, was the calm before the storm. De Potter and his fellow exiles hastened to Paris as soon as they heard of the Revolution, and were joined there by Alexandre Gendebien, an intimate friend and supporter of De Potter. Some of the Belgian Liberals were in favour of a separation from Holland and a union with France. De Potter was, however, in favour of neither; he wished the union with Holland to remain, but the Constitution to be reformed. The Radicals, however, gained the upper hand, and the walls of Brussels were covered with an inscription, "Monday, Fireworks; Tuesday, Illumination; Wednesday, Revolution."

On the evening of August 25th the *Muette de Portici*, otherwise called *Masaniello*, an opera written by Scribe and composed by Auber, was given at the Théâtre de la Monnaie for the first time. The people, fired by the example of the Neapolitan fisherman, rushed to the offices of the *National* and the house of its editor, Libri Bagno; others sacked the abodes of Van Maanen and of Knyff, the Director of the Police. On the following day several warehouses were destroyed, but no attempts were made to preserve order. The old Brabant flag was raised and the Royal arms

were torn down in many places. As the regular troops did nothing, a Civic Guard was organised, with Baron d'Hoogvorst at its head. It was divided into seven bodies to patrol different sections of the city, and order was restored, but not without bloodshed. On August 28th an assembly of Notables was held at the Hôtel de Ville, and a deputation, of which Alexandre Gendebien and Felix, Count de Merode, were members, was sent to ask the King respectfully to summon the States-General. The King refused to take any steps until the Netherlands flag had been restored and order re-established. In these matters Van Maanen played the part of Polignac in France. On August 31st the King replied to the deputation that he would neither dismiss Van Maanen nor consent to a law instituting the responsibility of Ministers until order was restored. However, the Prince of Orange and his brother, Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, set out for Antwerp. Prince Frederick took command of the soldiers, and the Prince of Orange proceeded alone to Brussels, where he was met with cries of "Down with Van Maanen! Down with the Dutch!" The Prince was able to effect nothing, because he had no power, and was obliged to refer everything to his father. At last Van Maanen was dismissed on September 3rd, and the States-General were summoned to meet on September 13th.

The People's Club Take the Lead.

A Committee of Public Safety was formed, of which Gendebien, Van de Weyer, and Merode were members; but they were powerless to control the extreme party. By the influence of De Potter a People's Club had been founded consisting of young Radicals and Republicans, and it was joined by revolutionary members from France, Liége, and Flanders, whose leaders were Rogier, Bayet, van Halen, and a Spanish conspirator of Belgian origin, called Pletinkx. They had been the leaders of the original revolution on August 25th, but had been disarmed by the National Guard. The object of the Club was to rouse the bare-armed, blouse-clad workman to destroy the power of the Moderates in the Hôtel de Ville. This was not difficult, considering the action of the King at The Hague and the presence of the Dutch troops at Vilvoorden. Masses of the mob streamed through the streets, demanding arms. Chance placed five cases of muskets in their hands, and others were wrested from the National Guard. Thus armed, they secured the Hôtel de Ville and so alarmed the Committee of Public Safety that it left the capital.

The middle classes, in dismay, turned to Prince Frederick, and begged him to occupy the city, promising indemnity to the victors. But before he could issue a proclamation intimating

that he was there at the invitation of the inhabitants, and that everyone would be pardoned excepting the leaders of the outbreak, the rioters were masters of the city. Owing to the patriotic devotion of Pletinkx, the excesses which the citizens feared and the Dutch desired were prevented. On September 22nd, Hoogvorst resigned his command of the National Guard, and the leaders of the Club, Ducpetiaux, Everard, Baron Felner, Ernest Gregoire and Roussel, formed a provisional Government. The Dutch troops, who numbered 10,000, with a corresponding force of artillery, expected a speedy victory. Two members of the Club who had been sent to Prince Frederick to discuss terms of compromise were arrested by him and sent to Antwerp. But when the troops attacked the rioters they met with unlooked-for resistance. Gates, palaces and barricades were occupied by an armed crowd, actuated by passion and despair. The middle classes, on the other hand, in whose name the Prince was fighting, showed no appetite for the conflict.

The People in Possession.

For three days the struggle continued, and the troops made no advance. Palaces were burned and the park was turned into a desert. When Pletinkx was wounded and made prisoner there was no one to restrain the fury of the rioters. The troops were worn out, their ammunition was exhausted, and thousands of Dutch soldiers had been killed. In the night of September 26th Prince Frederick received the order to retreat, and on the following day the people celebrated their triumph. In the evening of September 27th De Potter returned to Brussels in triumph. The days of September at Brussels constituted a parallel to the days of July at Paris. During the conflict a provisional Government had been formed at the Hôtel de Ville, consisting of Gendebien, Rogier, Van de Weyer, Emmanuel Hoogvorst and Felix de Merode, and to this was added De Potter on his arrival. They issued a proclamation releasing the Belgian soldiers from allegiance to the Dutch Government and establishing national independence. In a short time the tricolour of revolt was seen in all the provinces, and the only fortresses left in the hands of the Dutch were Antwerp, Maestricht, Venlo and Luxemburg.

The Prince of Orange Sent to Belgium.

The independence of Belgium had not yet been officially announced, and it was still possible to preserve the union between the two countries. The King yielded so far as to send the Prince of Orange to the southern provinces with full powers, and Prince Koslowski, a Russian, was authorised to negotiate with the Revolutionary Government; but the attempt to come to terms failed, and the Prince of Orange issued a proclamation in which he

proposed a separate government for Belgium, absolute freedom of education, and a complete amnesty for political offences. But the Liberals had prevailed, and their aspirations would not be satisfied by a dynastic union, either under the King or the Prince of Orange. All suggestions of amnesty were rejected. The Dutch troops must leave the territory and a National Congress must be called to decide the political future of Belgium.

The Prince's Mission Fails.

A second proclamation of the Prince of Orange, issued on October 16th, in which he recognised the independence of Belgium and suggested that he should preside over an unfettered congress, proved fruitless. It was met by a declaration of the provisional Government that the independence of the Belgian people had been won by arms and required no recognition. A few days later the Prince went to London, where the representatives of the great Powers had met to decide the future of Belgium, but with an eye to the interests of the House of Orange.

Attack on Antwerp.

The provisional Government in Brussels determined to organise a national army with the object of seizing the fortress of Antwerp. The Dutch army, under Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, might have held its own in Flanders had the government of The Hague not ordered it to withdraw into Antwerp, which was commanded by Colonel Chassé, a man of sixty-five. Antwerp had been hitherto under the control of the middle classes, but when the Belgian army approached the revolutionary element got the upper hand, soon became masters of the town, and began to attack the citadel. Chassé gave orders to fire, and Antwerp was bombarded. In the space of seven hours three hundred shots were fired and many houses burned, besides warehouses full of property, which caused a loss of many millions of francs. However, a large portion of the garrison left the town by water, in virtue of a convention with Rogier, the representative of the provisional Government. The struggle at Antwerp only seemed to consolidate the Revolution.

Independence Proclaimed.

On November 10th, the National Congress, composed of two hundred members, elected by all Belgian citizens over twenty-five years of age, met at Brussels and, eight days later, declared the independence of Belgium and the exclusion of the House of Nassau-Orange from the throne. De Potter was in favour of a republic, of which he probably hoped to be president. However, the convention decided in favour of a constitutional monarchy. The King of Holland was not popular with the great Powers, and the re-establishment of the House of Orange found few supporters. On January 20th, 1831, the London Conference decided that the frontier of Belgium should be that of 1790, that her neutrality

should be guaranteed, that the navigation of her rivers should be free, and that the public debt should be divided with Holland. Luxemburg was given to the King of Holland as part of the Germanic Confederation. These provisions, however, did not meet with the approval of the Brussels Congress, which protested against them. The Belgians had set their hearts upon the inclusion of Luxemburg, Maestricht and Dutch Flanders within their territory, and they did not at all like the condition that the choice of the new Sovereign was to have the approval of the great Powers.

Leopold of Saxe-Coburg Chosen as King.

There were three candidates for the crown before the consideration of the Congress—(1) the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the son of Eugène Beauharnais, the stepson of Napoleon; (2) Louis de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe, and (3) Archduke Charles of Austria. On February 3rd, Nemours obtained 97 votes, Leuchtenberg 74, and Archduke Charles 21. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had married the Princess Charlotte, and since her death had resided in England, now began to be put forward seriously as a candidate. It was known that the London Conference would not accept as sovereign any candidate belonging to the great Powers, and Lord Palmerston said that he should regard the election of Nemours as equivalent to the union of Belgium with France and a cause of war. Upon this Louis Philippe naturally declined to accept the crown for his son. Lebeau, the Foreign Minister, and Van de Weyer, who was afterwards, till his death, the representative of his country in England, found that Leopold would be favourably received by Great Britain and would not be rejected by France. He was accordingly elected King of the Belgians on June 4th, 1831, by 152 votes to 43. Important concessions were made to the new country by the Powers, chiefly with regard to the frontiers and the apportionment of the debt.

Belgium's Success.

Leopold entered Brussels as King on July 21st, 1831, but he did not gain possession of Antwerp till December 23rd, 1832, and then only by the active intervention of France and Great Britain. The creation of the Kingdom of Belgium has been justified by success. Inhabited by two races, Flemish and Walloon, speaking different languages, differing in religious views, Belgium has presented the spectacle of a free, intelligent and progressive society. The development of its mines, manufactures, industries and commerce has been remarkable. Europe has learnt much from her in the matter of education and, in the midst of difficulties, the Constitution has never been violated. It is refreshing to turn from the failure of the Congress of Vienna to enforce the principle

of legitimacy upon a reluctant Europe, to the success of a government founded on national aspirations and popular consent.

Holland and the New State.

Holland, refusing to accept the settlement, declared war, and the Belgian army was soundly beaten. The French intervened with an army under General Gérard and a British fleet threatened the Dutch coast. The Powers proposed a new arrangement, which they declared they were prepared to enforce by arms. King William continued obstinate, and refused to evacuate the citadel of Antwerp. Dutch ships were captured in English and French harbours, the coasts of Holland were subjected to a blockade, and Gérard was obliged to resort to a second campaign to compel Chassé to surrender before the Government of Holland would give in. Even then the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, which impeded the navigation of the Scheldt, remained in Dutch hands. It was not till March 14th, 1838, that the Dutch finally accepted the conditions imposed by the great Powers. Since that time Belgium has continued to advance, and at the present day is rapidly becoming a rival to her protector, France.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE REFORM ERA IN GREAT BRITAIN

THE ten years of the history of the United Kingdom from 1820 to 1830 are occupied by the reign of George IV. He was one of the most contemptible of British Sovereigns. He led a life of selfishness, and thought more of the gratification of his personal desires than of the prosperity of the nation. He was called "the first gentleman in Europe," but, save courtly manners and taste in dress, he had none of the qualities of a gentleman. His accession marks no epoch in British history, because he had acted as Regent since 1812.

"The First Gentleman in Europe."

In 1795 he had married Caroline, Princess of Brunswick, the daughter of the Duke who played so prominent a part in the history of the French Revolution. From the very first he treated her with dislike, and, as soon as peace rendered it possible, she withdrew from England and travelled on the Continent. Her behaviour during the six years of her residence abroad was very eccentric, and gave rise to scandal, but nothing wrong was ever proved against her. The King was anxious for a divorce, but the Ministry effected a compromise, by which her name was omitted from the Liturgy on condition that no penal proceedings of any kind were taken against her. The King, however, was dissatisfied with this arrangement, and the Queen determined to proceed to England to claim her rights.

Queen Caroline's Progress to London.

She landed at Dover on Monday, June 5th, 1820. An immense crowd cheered her, and she was received with a royal salute. The inhabitants of Dover presented her with an address, congratulating her on her accession to the throne, and she replied that she hoped she should be permitted to help in promoting the welfare of her husband's subjects. At Canterbury the horses were removed from her carriage and the Queen was drawn to the door of her hotel. Her journey to London was one long, triumphal procession. At every village through which she passed business was suspended and the church bells rang out a peal of welcome. As she approached the capital the carriage was thrown open, and she completed her journey amid the acclamation of a countless multitude. As she drove past Carlton House, the residence of the

King, the sentries presented arms. Her progress at last ended at the residence of Alderman Wood, in South Audley Street.

Trial of Queen Caroline.

Continued attempts at compromise were made by the advisers of the contending parties, but all failed upon the point whether her name should or should not be included in the Liturgy. The King refused to admit it, and the Queen declined to sanction its omission. The Ministers, at the bidding of the King, introduced a Bill of Pains and Penalties, to deprive the Queen of her rank and to dissolve the marriage between them. The Queen was defended by Lord Brougham, and the Bill passed its readings in the House of Lords with decreasing majorities, and was abandoned by the Government amidst popular rejoicings, the streets of London being illuminated for three nights. The result of the trial was to alienate the middle class from the Crown and the Tories, and to enhance the prospects of parliamentary reform.

Parliament met on January 29th, 1821; but a month before this its most powerful orator had retired from the Ministry. Canning had been a constant guest at the Queen's table before her departure from England, and he felt that he could not remain in a Government which was persecuting her with such relentless energy. An Act was now passed which granted the Queen a suitable residence and an annuity of £50,000, although her name was still excluded from the Liturgy; but her acceptance of this income went far to diminish her popularity with the mob.

Queen Caroline and the Coronation.

But the last scene of the tragi-comedy was enacted at the Coronation of George IV., which took place on July 19th, 1821. The Queen made numerous efforts to be included in the ceremony, but was baffled at every turn. She, however, determined to be present, and left South Audley Street at 5 o'clock in the morning in a coach drawn by six bay horses. The soldiers presented arms as she passed, and the people cheered. She went to the door leading into Westminster Abbey at Poet's Corner, and might have been admitted alone had she not hesitated and turned back. This altered the sentiment of the crowd, who greeted her now with derisive shouts and cheers. She made one more effort to be crowned before the decorations were removed from the Abbey, but met with another repulse. Worn out with fever and vexation, she was taken suddenly ill at Drury Lane Theatre, and died shortly afterwards. Her body was conveyed to her native city of Brunswick for burial.

Canning as Foreign Secretary.

In 1822 changes took place in the Ministry which profoundly modified the policy of Great Britain in internal as well as external affairs. Peel became Home Secretary, in the place of the notorious

Lord Sidmouth, who, as Addington, had excited the ridicule of the Tories and, as a peer, had incurred the detestation of the Liberals. On August 12th, Lord Castlereagh, now become Lord Londonderry, died by his own hand and was succeeded by Canning as Foreign Secretary. Castlereagh had been the friend of Metternich, and had supported the reactionary policy which led to such disastrous consequences in Europe. Canning, on the other hand, although a Tory in domestic, was a Liberal in foreign, affairs, and his name is even now remembered by continental Liberals as that of the man who first opened to the oppressed nations of Europe the hope of better government. The Liberalising of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet was continued in 1823 by the appointment of Robinson as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Huskisson as President of the Board of Trade. Huskisson, like Canning, was sneered at for being an adventurer. In other words, he did not belong to those privileged families who were considered, at that time, to keep the government of England in their own hands. He had carefully studied the principles of political economy and was thoroughly versed in the laws under which wealth is produced and distributed. He used his position to pass a number of measures which rapidly developed the resources of the realm.

Increase of Britain's Shipping Trade.

A law had been enacted during the time of the Commonwealth, ratified by Charles II., which forbade, with some exceptions, foreign produce to be brought to England save in English ships. The effect had been to give to Great Britain the carrying trade of the world and to enrich British merchants with all the profits of carrying foreign goods. Other nations objected, and America, in particular, imposed so high a duty on goods imported in British vessels that it practically prevented the continuance of the trade with the United States. British ships used to go empty to fetch American goods, and American ships, after carrying goods from British ports, returned to England empty, so that the price of freight was doubled on both sides. To remedy this evil, Huskisson determined to modify the Navigation Acts, as they were called, and in 1823 carried a Reciprocity of Duties Act, by which duties were made equal on all goods, whether brought in British or foreign vessels. The shipping trade of Great Britain, which had been depressed, was by these means very largely increased.

Reduction of Duty on Silk.

Heavy duties were at that time levied on the import of foreign silk. This did an injury to English weavers, partly by depriving them of raw material, partly by removing the stimulus of healthy competition. French silks were everywhere preferred to English; indeed, such was the rage for them that it was profitable for an

English manufacturer to have his own goods smuggled into England under the name of French. The prohibition of foreign wool was equally injurious, because British wool was benefited by being mingled with foreign. These proposed changes were, at first, resisted by manufacturers and operatives alike; but Huskisson, confident in the truth of his principles, carried measures which reduced the duties on both articles. Other steps were taken in a similar direction. The Acts which fixed the wages of the Spitalfields weavers were repealed, and all Acts were abolished which restrained the free travelling-about of workmen and controlled combination between either masters or workmen—a liberty, however, which was restricted in the following year.

The Anti-Slavery Question.

The question of the abolition of slavery next came into prominence. Like many other reforms, it had been brought forward by Wilberforce and Pitt, but had been laid aside in the confusion of the European struggles. The West Indian Colonies, belonging to Great Britain, were full of slaves, and scenes were enacted as terrible as any afterwards heard of in the United States. Yet slavery could not be abolished without a heavy loss of money. It was feared that if the change were effected indiscreetly the blacks might rise and cause a general massacre. An Act was passed to mitigate the sufferings of the slaves, and all slave-holders knew that by this wide measure a deathblow had been dealt at slavery.

The Financial Crisis of 1825.

Under these favourable influences the prosperity of Great Britain advanced rapidly. Wealth began to flow into new channels, and all classes experienced in their daily lives that peace was far preferable to war. Unfortunately, the change was too sudden, and the country ran into wild speculation. Companies were formed for the promotion of unattainable objects, and banks were opened by men who had no capital to support them. A crash came in 1825. On December 5th in that year the great banking house of Sir Peter Pole and Co., in Bartholomew Lane, closed its doors. It was known that it kept accounts with forty-five country banks, and the funds fell. Lombard Street was filled with persons hastening to withdraw their deposits. Even old men, who recollected the crisis of 1790, were appalled at the extent and character of the present disasters. The worst pressure came at Christmas time, and so sad a Christmas had rarely been celebrated in London. Riots broke out in the midland counties, and machines were destroyed as the supposed cause of the people's misery. The Government, however, came to the rescue: money was lent to merchants with which to retrieve their fortunes, foreign corn was allowed to enter, and the panic passed away.

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

Position of Catholics.

Two great questions began to clamour for adjustment—the Corn Laws and Catholic Emancipation. The Catholic population of Ireland was four times as great as the Protestant, but the Catholics had, for more than a century and a half, been treated as a conquered and downtrodden race. In some respects their position had gradually improved, but in 1828 no Catholic could sit in either House of Parliament, no Catholic could be guardian to a Protestant, nor keep any arms or warlike stores. Catholics were excluded from almost every office of trust or distinction, and were made, in a variety of ways, to feel that they stood on a different social footing from Protestants. In 1800, when Ireland was united with England and Scotland, Pitt had promised to remedy their grievances, but the King pleaded his coronation oath and said that if he consented the crown would pass to the House of Savoy. When the matter was pressed upon him his mind gave way, and it was felt that nothing could be done as long as George III. lived.

The Duke of York Opposes Catholic Emancipation.

Canning had been in favour of Catholic emancipation from his earliest years, but the matter still remained an open question with the Ministry, and it is probable it would have continued unsettled for a much longer period but for the efforts of the Catholic Association, founded in 1823, under Daniel O'Connell. A Bill for the relief of the Catholics passed the House of Commons in 1825, but was defeated in the House of Lords by the efforts of the Duke of York, the heir to the throne, who declared his unflinching hostility to any measure of the kind so long as he lived or whatever might be his situation in life. The Duke of York died in January, 1827, and Lord Liverpool was struck down by paralysis in the following month.

Canning's Last Ministry.

Canning was reluctantly summoned by the Sovereign to form a Ministry, but he, too, had received his death-blow by attending, on a cold winter night, the Duke of York's funeral in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Duke of Wellington, Robert Peel and Eldon declined to serve under Canning, but Lord Lyndhurst became his Lord Chancellor, and Palmerston, Huskisson, Goderich and Harrowby joined him. Though opposed to parliamentary reform, Canning was in favour of Catholic emancipation and the Corn Laws. A Corn Bill, intended to redeem part of this pledge, was rejected in the House of Lords, but Canning had no time to fulfil the cherished purpose of his life by emancipating the Catholics. Worn out by the cares of office, disheartened by the desertion of friends, harassed by the constant persecution of an unprincipled Opposition like that which had embittered Pitt's last years, he

sank under the accumulated burden and died in August, 1827, at the age of fifty-seven, leaving a name high up in the glory roll of British statesmen. His policy was not bounded by the limits of his country, and his heart was ever moved with indignation against oppression. He vindicated the position of Great Britain as the champion of liberty and freedom throughout the civilised world.

The Duke of Wellington's Ministry.

The King hoped to retain the same Ministry in office and carry on public business with as little change as possible. Lord Goderich, who was considered a moderate man, became Prime Minister, while Herries and the Duke of Wellington, both Tories, were received into the Cabinet. A quarrel arose between Herries and Huskisson, however, and Goderich, not wishing to get rid of either, preferred to resign himself. His place was filled by the Duke of Wellington, who became Prime Minister in January, 1828. The Duke was now fifty-nine years of age, was indisputably the first subject of the Crown, and was regarded in all parts of Europe as the embodiment of British power and British spirit. Yet he was destined to impair in office the reputation he had gained in war. His industry, courage and integrity were beyond question, but he had little sympathy with the people, and was apt to base his conduct too exclusively on obedience to the authority of the Sovereign. Huskisson endeavoured to convince himself that the spirit of Canning would still guide the conduct of the Ministry, and therefore remained in office. But the Cabinet, composed as it was of discordant elements, could scarcely hope to hold together. At last, upon the question whether the seat gained by the disfranchisement of East Retford should be given to a large town or to a country Hundred, Huskisson and Peel found themselves voting in different lobbies. Huskisson accordingly sent in his resignation to the Duke of Wellington, never dreaming it would be accepted. The Duke, however, seized the opportunity of removing a troublesome colleague, and four other members of the Cabinet—Palmerston, Dudley, Grant, and Lamb (afterwards Lord Melbourne)—shared Huskisson's retreat.

"Qualifying for Office."

Before this change of Ministry took place, the Test and Corporation Acts had been repealed. They were passed in the reign of Charles II., and provided that no one should hold any important office, civil or military, without giving evidence that he belonged to the Church of England by receiving the Holy Sacrament. The first of these Acts, passed in 1661, had been directed against the Presbyterians; and the second, passed in 1673, against James II. and the Catholics. Their chief burden now fell on the Dissenters,

who were, however, able to some extent to evade them by an Act of Indemnity, first passed in the reign of George II. and renewed every year. It was the custom for persons to wait in taverns and houses near the Church and not go in till the service was over. The ceremony used to be styled "qualifying for office," and an appointed person called out "those who want to be qualified will please to step this way." Persons then received the Communion for the purpose of obtaining office, and with no other intent whatever.

Peel's Compromise.

In 1828 Lord John Russell proposed and carried a motion that a committee should be appointed to consider the abolition of these galling and useless restrictions. Peel and Huskisson opposed the measure, as Canning had always done, on the ground, not of principle, but of expediency. But they were defeated by the majority of 237 to 193. Peel proposed a compromise. A declaration containing a promise that the maker of it would never exert any power or influence to injure or subvert the Protestant Established Church was to be made by the members of every corporation and, at the pleasure of the Crown, by the holder of every office. This was passed by the Commons, but the Peers insisted on adding the words "in the true faith of a Christian," in order to keep out the Jews.

Growth of the Catholic Association.

The movement which finally resulted in the emancipation of the Catholics began in Ireland. By the efforts of the Catholic Association Daniel O'Connell was elected member of Parliament for Clare. His return was declared valid, although he could not speak or vote in the House until he had taken the prescribed oaths. The Catholic Association received more and more adherents. Supported by the priests, and well furnished with money, it soon spread over the whole of Ireland. Its object was to secure that no member should be elected to any Irish constituency who did not pledge himself to obtain emancipation for the Catholics and parliamentary reform. The Ministry gradually became convinced that the wisest course was to conciliate a power which they could not suppress.

Peel Supports the Catholics.

Peel, a noble-minded statesman who always preferred the interests of his country to the interests of party, was the first of the Tory ministers to come to this conclusion, as, at a later period, he was with regard to the Corn Laws, and used his influence with the Duke of Wellington. Stubborn resistance, however, was made by the King, supported by the heads of the Peers and the Church, and the prospect of agreement seemed at one time to be hopeless. But the King was eventually induced to modify his attitude, and it was arranged that the Royal Speech at the opening of Parlia-

ment in 1829 should contain the surprising announcements that the Catholic Association would be suppressed and that a measure for the relief of Catholics would be presented for the consideration of Parliament. The secret was well kept, and nothing was known of these designs until copies of the speech were sent to the leaders of the Opposition on February 4th. Peel thought it his duty to resign his membership for the University of Oxford, and to offer himself for re-election, but he was defeated by 755 votes to 609. He was eventually returned as member for the little borough of Westbury.

O'Connell Inaugurates the Home Rule Agitation.

The Bill for suppressing the Catholic Association was passed, and that for the relief of the Catholics was to be introduced on March 5th. At the last moment the King declared that he could not assent to it, and only yielded when he found that it was impossible to form an administration which would oppose the Bill. Ultimately the measure passed both Houses and received the Royal Assent. It abolished all political distinctions between Catholics and Protestants in the fullest and most generous manner. The association which had been mainly instrumental in obtaining this victory passed quietly out of existence, and a great step had been taken in redressing the wrongs of Ireland. O'Connell now turned his attention to agitating for the repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, thus beginning a controversy which was vastly to affect the course of British politics. In this year also Robert Peel established the police force, which was to replace the old watchmen, and the members of which still bear the name of " Peelers " or " Bobbies."

The Duke Opposed to Reform.

It was obvious that the next leading question would be that of the reform of Parliament, but that it could not be dealt with whilst the Duke of Wellington remained in office. Indeed, he declared himself opposed to all measures for reform. He said he had never heard of any measure which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the existing state of representation could be improved. He went still further, and declared that if the duty were imposed upon him to frame a Legislature for any country, and especially for a country like Great Britain, in possession of great properties of various descriptions, he did not mean to assert that he could frame such a Legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such excellence at once, but his great endeavour would be to frame some description of Legislature which would produce similar results.

When he sat down, a colleague said to him, " You have announced the fall of your Government." The effect on the

country was disastrous: the funds fell 4 per cent., and there was grave doubt whether the usual banquet would be held in the City on Lord Mayor's Day. Indeed, the banquet had to be postponed. The Duke resigned, and Lord Grey was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry. This was the act of William IV., George IV. having died on June 26th, 1830. Grey had been connected with every movement for parliamentary reform during the last forty years. He was a most respected statesman, a finished orator, dignified and cultured. Lord Althorp became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Melbourne Home Secretary, Lord Palmerston Foreign Secretary, and Lord Brougham Lord Chancellor. Lord John Russell was a member of the Ministry, but was not in the Cabinet. The history of the fifteen years which succeeded the fall of Napoleon was thus, to a great extent, made up, on the one hand, of the struggle to establish government on democratic principles, and, on the other, of the more or less successful efforts to stifle such a movement.

Democracy and Liberty.

All government consists in the union of two principles, which the Romans called *imperium* and *libertas*—one the enforcement of authority from above, the other the security of freedom of thought and action from below. The French Revolution was the exaggerated assertion of the democratic principle, caused by the unreasonable exercise of the principle of authority, coupled with monstrous abuse of class privilege. As it proceeded, it so extended the domain of liberty that authority lost all power. The Government of the Directory was the weakest that France, and perhaps Europe, had ever seen; a weaker government would have been anarchy, or no government at all. Napoleon attempted to reconcile the two principles by founding a democratic Empire—a Government strong in authority, but instinct with the spirit of liberty. He failed, because he could not reign in peace, but had to meet the continual demands of wars forced upon him by those who opposed his actions, just as they had been forced upon the Republic which preceded him.

England and the Revolution.

After his fall liberty almost disappeared, just as authority had disappeared before his arrival on the scene. The Powers of Europe, led by Metternich, occupied themselves in suppressing what they believed to be revolution, but what was really liberty. Liberty, the just demand of the people for self-government, could only be put down by force, and the efforts to regain it caused the abortive attempts of 1820 and the more successful struggles of 1830. But in these movements Great Britain had stood by herself. As she had not known to the full the abuses of authority,

so she refrained from demanding the exaggeration of liberty. What other countries had sought by revolution she laboured to secure by reform. But the realisation of reform could not be won without a struggle—bloodless, indeed, but scarcely less violent than those which had ended in revolution in other countries.

Parliamentary Reform the Key to Liberty.

Great Britain fixed her mind on the reform of Parliament as the key to the position; if that were accomplished, everything else would follow. The chief evils to be remedied were these: first, the existence of rotten boroughs, places with few electors and sometimes no inhabitants, which returned two members to Parliament at the bidding of a neighbouring magnate; next, the fact that large and wealthy towns, which had grown into importance during the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, had no representative in Parliament; and, thirdly, that only a small part of the population had the right of voting at elections. To remedy these evils a Reform Bill was to be introduced, and its preparation was entrusted to a committee of four, consisting of Lord Durham, Sir James Graham, Lord Duncannon, and Lord John Russell. The most influential of these was Lord Durham, who was mainly responsible for the details of the scheme, and who included vote by ballot in the plan, against the opinion of Lord John Russell. The part he played in the movement has only become recognised of late years, the lion's share having been too readily and too exclusively awarded to Lord John Russell, who introduced the measure into the House of Commons.

The First Reform Bill.

The committee proposed the disenfranchisement of all boroughs with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants; the partial disenfranchisement of all boroughs with fewer than 4,000 inhabitants; the extension of the franchise to £20 householders in boroughs and £10 copyholders in counties; the assignment of members to populous towns, and of additional members to the more populous. It further proposed the enforcement of residence as a qualification for voting, the registration of voters, the adoption of the ballot, an increase in the number of polling stations, and the limit of the duration of Parliament to five years. In the Cabinet vote by ballot was disallowed and the borough franchise lowered to £10. Lord John Russell introduced the Bill in the House of Commons on March 1st, 1831. The excitement was indescribable; petitions in favour of the Bill were heaped upon the table; the House was crowded; dense masses of people assembled outside, waiting for the news of the fate of the measure, and on their fringe were horsemen, ready to carry the earliest tidings of the details to every part of England.

A MAJORITY OF ONE

Lord John Russell's Speech.

Lord John Russell's speech proposed that sixty of the smaller boroughs should be disfranchised altogether, and that forty-seven should return one member instead of two. London received eight additional representatives, and thirty-four seats were distributed amongst towns hitherto unrepresented. The English counties received fifty-five new members, the Scottish five, the Irish three, the Welsh one. The result of these changes would be to reduce the House of Commons from 658 members to 596. Corporations in towns lost their exclusive right of election, and the franchise was given to all householders who paid £10 a year rent. This would give votes to half a million citizens who had not as yet possessed them.

The speech was received with derisive cheers and laughter, but Sir Robert Peel sat immovable in his place, and the Duke of Wellington told his friends that it was no joke, that there was nothing to laugh at. The debate lasted seven nights, and elicited the conflicting objections of Tories and Radicals. The Tories thought that such a reform, coupled with a free Press, was incompatible with the independence of the House of Lords. The Radicals recognised the boldness of the measure, but regretted that the plan did not include vote by ballot, short parliaments, and universal suffrage. At last, after a short reply from the opener of the debate, leave was given to bring in the Bill and it was read a first time.

Majority of One for Second Reading.

Opinion in the country was divided. The Court, the House of Lords, the Clergy, the Army and Navy, the Universities, and the Inns of Court were mainly against the Bill; it was supported by the manufacturers and the body of the people, and the Press was generally in its favour. The second reading of the Bill was fixed for March 21st. After a vigorous debate the second reading was carried in a full House by a majority of one vote, the numbers being 302 and 301—another of the great measures, including the Irish Union, which have been determined by one vote. The excitement was beyond description, but the success of the Bill seemed very doubtful.

Defeat of the Ministry.

After the Easter recess Ministers proposed some changes in the details. Five boroughs were deprived of one member instead of two, and seven boroughs which were to lose one member were left untouched. Eight counties and seven large towns received additional members, and additional members were assigned to Ireland and to one large town. These concessions did not conciliate the Opposition, and the fateful division was taken at 4 o'clock in the morning of April 21st, when Ministers were defeated

by a majority of twenty-two; and at once, as they had already secretly agreed to do should events demand it, determined to dissolve. The King, after some hesitation, acceded to their resolution. When, on the day of dissolution, a difficulty was made about the carriage to convey him to Parliament, he said, "Never mind the carriage; send for a hackney coach." The Lords were engaged in debate when the cannon announced His Majesty's arrival. But Lord Mansfield went on speaking while the Royal procession was entering the House. The King was firm, cheerful and dignified. He announced as his reason for dissolving that he wished to ascertain the sense of the people, constitutionally expressed, on the expediency of making changes in the representation. The question of reform was thus left to the judgment of the people and the country.

The New Parliament.

The dissolution of Parliament brought general rejoicing. London was illuminated, and those who did not light up had their windows broken. From one end of the land to the other the cry rang out, "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill!" In the new election candidates in favour of the Bill were chosen throughout the country, and nearly all the county members were pledged to support it.

The Second Reform Bill Passed.

Parliament was formally opened on June 21st, and three days later Lord John Russell introduced the second Reform Bill. He was now a member of the Cabinet, and therefore spoke with the authority which belongs to Cabinet rank. But he had no concessions to offer; the Bill was introduced without material amendment, and leave to introduce it was granted with only one dissentient voice. The debate on the second reading—which was carried by a majority of 136, the numbers being 367 and 231—lasted three nights. The figures showed that the Ministry had gained 135 votes by the dissolution. But the Opposition was united and determined, and met the motion to go into Committee by repeated amendments. In Committee the case of each borough was separately discussed. It was urged that the Bill disfranchised the south of England for the benefit of the north, though it was in the north that wealth and population had mainly increased. Every art of obstruction was practised, and the House continued to sit during the tropical heat of July and past the "Festival of St. Grouse" on August 12th, the work of the Committee being concluded only just before the King's Coronation in September. The Bill finally passed the House of Commons by a majority of 106.

The Bill was carried up to the House of Lords by nearly two hundred Liberals, who broke into cheering when Lord John

Russell handed it to the Lord Chancellor. The second reading was proposed by Lord Grey on October 3rd. In his speech he defended the consistency of his career, and showed that he had supported Pitt's proposals for reform as long ago as 1786. Brougham, the Lord Chancellor, went down on his knees, theatrically begging the Peers to pass the Bill. It was opposed by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst, who complained that it opened the floodgates of democracy. The Lord Chief Justice and the Archbishop of Canterbury also demanded its rejection. Earl Grey replied on the morning of October 8th, after an all-night sitting, and the Bill was thrown out by a majority of 41.

The Country Indignant.

Indignation throughout the country was profound, and a spark might have produced a revolution. Two papers, the *Chronicle* and the *Sun*, appeared in mourning, and *The Times* declared that it turned from the appalling sight of a wounded nation to the means already in action for its recovery. A muffled peal was rung at Birmingham, riots broke out at Derby, the jail at Nottingham was burned down, and the abolition of the House of Lords was mooted. Unpopular peers were attacked in the streets, and a procession of 60,000 persons presented a petition to the King in favour of the Bill. Brougham and Russell did their best to calm the minds of the people, assuring them that there was no intention to shelve or desert the Bill, but that repose was absolutely necessary. Parliament was prorogued for a month.

Reform Riots at Bristol.

Even after this it was found necessary to prohibit political associations by proclamation. At Bristol a riot was directed against the Recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, who had been one of the fiercest opponents of the Bill. The constables were routed, and soldiers were called in to quell the tumult. The prisons were broken open and the prisoners liberated, and the Mansion House and Bishop's Palace were burned to the ground. The riots were at last suppressed with great bloodshed and loss of life. It was realised that the vote of the twenty-one bishops who had voted against the Bill would have just turned the scale. A cry was raised that the bishops had thrown out the Bill, and they were burned in effigy throughout the country, while the Church was involved in the hatred arising from the action of its chiefs.

Third Reform Bill

The third Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell on December 12th, 1831. It had been prepared on a slightly different principle from its predecessors. The census of 1831 had become known, and its results could not be ignored in framing the measure. Moreover, the number of the House of Commons was left unaltered. The second reading was carried by a majority

of 112, and in spite of attempted delay it finally passed the Commons in March. It was, however, still violently opposed in the Upper House by the Duke of Wellington and his friends; but a party called the "Waverers," or the "Trimmers," represented by Lords Wharncliffe and Harrowby, were disposed to agree to the second reading in order to amend the Bill in Committee, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 9. In Committee, on May 7th, Lord Lyndhurst proposed that the disenfranchisement clauses should be postponed till the others had been passed, and the amendment was adopted by a majority of 35.

The Lords again Obstructive.

Lord Grey at once deferred the consideration of the measure. Ministers had the alternatives of advising the King to create sufficient peers—which would be not fewer than fifty—to ensure the passing of the Bill or of resigning office. The King was reluctant to swamp the Upper House with so many new creations, so the Ministry elected to resign. The Lords determining to proceed with the discussion of the Bill, the Commons prayed, in an Address to the Throne, that the measure passed by them might not be surrendered. The excitement throughout the country was more violent than ever. A union was founded at Birmingham, one of whose objects was to refuse payment of taxes. Arms were prepared, and there seemed to be a danger of civil war. In the meantime, an attempt to form an anti-Reform Ministry failed, Lord Lyndhurst and Sir Robert Peel declining the task. The Duke of Wellington, with characteristic courage, undertook it; but, finding it impossible, advised the King to recall Lord Grey, and His Majesty had no alternative but to adopt this course.

Collapse of the Lords.

Lord Grey was recalled in May, 1832. The restored Cabinet decided that their continuance in office must depend upon their receiving full and indisputable security for the passing of the Bill, and the King reluctantly gave permission to the Prime Minister and Lord Brougham to create as many peers as might be necessary to pass the Bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons or the collateral heirs of childless noblemen. In consequence of this, the opposition of the Lords ceased and the Bill passed through Committee at the end of May and was read a third time on June 4th, 1832. Slight amendments introduced by the Lords were accepted by the Commons, and the Bill became law. Consent was given by Commission on June 7th, in the silence of deep emotion. Parliament was shortly afterwards dissolved, in order that the House of Commons might be elected under the conditions imposed by the new Act.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND, 1832-1841

AFTER the great war which was concluded at Waterloo the population of the United Kingdom largely increased. In 1816 it amounted to 19,000,000, in 1831 it had reached 24,000,000, and, with the population, the wealth of the country increased also. In 1815 the income on which income tax was levied was estimated at £150,000,000; in 1832 it cannot have been less than £225,000,000; so that the wealth of the nation must have grown by £75,000,000 since the termination of the war. Population had grown by 25 per cent., wealth by 50 per cent., so that the accumulation of wealth had been twice as rapid as the multiplication of the people. **Britain's Growth.**

Moreover, a great revolution had taken place in industries. The use of machinery had lessened the cost of production, and the cost of distribution had undergone similar diminution. Brindley and his followers had intersected the country with canals; Telford and Macadam had furnished it with roads. Facilities for travelling had increased, and the railway was at hand. The railway consists of two essential parts—a carriage propelled by steam and rails on which it may run. The second had been invented and used before the first, and the earlier steam-coaches were made to run on roads; the union of the two was effected by George Stephenson. The Stockton and Darlington Railway, the work of Stephenson and Pease, was opened on September 27th, 1825, a momentous date in British history. In 1830 a more important railway was constructed between Liverpool and Manchester. The opening day was marked by the death of Huskisson, who was knocked down by the "Rocket" steam engine as he was moving forward to shake hands with the Duke of Wellington, with whom he had quarrelled two years before. The engine which conveyed the injured statesman after this accident achieved a speed of thirty-six miles an hour. **Industrial Revolution.**

About the same time domestic comfort was enlarged by the invention of lucifer matches, which took the place of the old tinder-

box. It is difficult to imagine the fundamental differences which existed between the England of 1815 and the England of 1832. Up to 1810 legislation had generally been directed to provide special advantages for a class; in 1832 it began to aim at securing the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The sinecures which existed for the benefit of the upper classes had been abolished; learning and capacity became the avenue to the bishop's mitre and the judge's ermine; public officials were compelled to discharge their duties themselves, instead of leaving them to deputies; religious disabilities had been swept away; Roman Catholics were admitted to Parliament; all offices were free to Dissenters; the political power of the State was no longer monopolised by a handful of privileged individuals. The franchise had been extended to shopkeepers in the boroughs and to occupiers in the counties, and rotten boroughs had disappeared. Members of Parliament had lost some of their oppressive rights. Landowners could not now defraud their creditors or exercise exclusively the privilege of killing game. The principles of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham had soaked into the hearts of the rising generation.

Social Conditions in Britain.

But the condition both of the labouring and manufacturing poor remained very unsatisfactory. Pauperism was terrible. In the middle of the eighteenth century the poor rate and the county rate had not amounted together to more than £750,000; in 1832 the relief of the poor cost £7,000,000 in England and Wales alone. The maintenance of the poor threw an annual charge of ten shillings on every man, woman, and child of the population. One person in seven in England and Wales was a pauper. Emigration began to be used as a remedy for these evils, but it did not attain anything like its present proportions. In 1815 only 2,081 emigrants left the country; in 1832 the number amounted to 102,313. The condition of the labouring poor in Ireland was far worse than it was in England, and in 1830 Daniel O'Connell began to agitate for the repeal of the Union.

Deplorable Condition of Ireland.

The General Election of 1832 passed in comparative quiet. By a new law the poll was closed in two days, instead of being kept open for a fortnight, a custom which had occasioned much disorder. The composition of the House of Commons did not differ very much from that of previous Parliaments. Parties were slightly changed: Tories became Conservatives and Whigs Liberals, and the Radicals began to assume the character of a responsible political combination. Ireland occupied the first attention of the reformed House. The state of that country was

deplorable, assassination and robbery were the order of the day. In Queen's County, in a single year, there were 60 murders and 115 malicious injuries to property, 626 burglaries, and 209 serious assaults on individuals. Peaceable people were afraid to give evidence or serve on juries to try the offenders. By the introduction of an Irish Church Bill something was done to remedy the grievances which caused these evils. The members of the Irish Church mustered only 800,000 out of a population of 8,000,000, but the maintenance of the Church cost more than £1 a head a year for each of its members. It possessed 1,400 benefices and twenty-two bishops. Lord Althorp imposed a tax on all benefices of over £200 a year, varying as their value. The £60,000 which this would yield was to be expended in the repair of churches and the building of parsonages, so that the Church Tax might be abolished. The number of bishops was reduced from twenty-two to twelve. But, unfortunately, a Coercion Act was still thought necessary. The provisions were extremely severe. The Lord Lieutenant had power to suppress all meetings; he might declare any county to be in a state of disturbance, and in districts so disordered it was perilous to be out between sunset and sunrise. Offenders in disturbed districts were to be tried by court-martial. The Bill was introduced in the House of Lords on February 15th, 1833, and passed through its stages in five days. In the Commons it met with violent opposition, but, owing to the fiery eloquence of Stanley, the Chief Secretary, it became law on April 1st, with certain modifications. The Church Bill passed the Commons, but was nearly defeated in the House of Lords. It did not become law till July 30th.

Anti-Slavery a Prominent Question.

After this the Government was reconstructed. Lord Durham, the principal author of the Reform Bill, left the Ministry and received an Earldom. Lord Goderich, now made Earl of Ripon, was given the Privy Seal, and Lord Stanley was entrusted with the Colonies. Here he was confronted with a difficult and laborious task, the abolition of slavery in British dominions. Slavery was marked by two evils—the existence of slavery itself and the horrors of the slave trade, by which slaves were brought from Africa to labour in other countries. Long regarded with indifference, men such as Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and Wilberforce had succeeded, after years of philanthropic efforts, in rousing the conscience of Englishmen upon the subject. In 1806, in the middle of the Napoleonic war, Grenville and Fox, the leaders of the Ministry which received the name of "All the Talents," carried resolutions in favour of the abolition of the slave trade, and an

Act for its abolition was passed on March 25th, 1807. But slavery remained and Wilberforce was anxious to complete his work.

Lord Stanley's Compromise with Slavery.

It was, however, far more difficult to convert 750,000 slaves into free labourers than to cut off the supply. Besides, to do this interfered with the rights of property and might ruin the Colonies, where cultivators depended on slave labour. The work was made easier by the fact that trade between Great Britain and the West Indies had seriously diminished since the Peace. In 1814 the West Indian trade formed one-sixth of British commerce; in 1833 it was only one-fifteenth. The abolition of slavery was a natural result of the advent of democratic government due to the Reform Bill of 1832. But, to the surprise of the abolitionists, no mention of the abolition of slavery was made in the Speech from the Throne in 1833. Thomas Fowell Buxton, who had taken charge of the subject in succession to Wilberforce, asked the Government whether they intended to do anything, and they were obliged to answer in the affirmative. Nothing, however, would have been done had not Stanley been Secretary for the Colonies. He devoted himself to the study of a subject of which he was before entirely ignorant, and rose to make his momentous speech on May 14th. The line he took was bold and statesmanlike. He was opposed to gradual abolition, as he held that slave and free labour could not exist side by side. The proposal was that, for a period, slaves should become apprentices, that they should give three-quarters of their time to their masters and have the rest for themselves. The period of apprenticeship, first fixed by Stanley at twelve years, was afterwards reduced to seven, and £20,000,000 was voted as a compensation for the slave-owners. The apprenticeship system proved to be a failure, as the apprentices were treated by their masters really as badly as the slaves had been. In 1838 it was abolished by Act of Parliament.

Child Slaves of England.

But there was slavery at home, and to this attention was now directed. The effect of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century was to create labour in factories, and it was found that child labour was cheaper than adult labour. This led to a kind of slave-trade. Wagon loads of children were sent from London into Lancashire to act as apprentices in factories. But as time went on the manufacturing towns supplied their own children, most of whom did not begin work till they were nine years of age, though it was not uncommon to begin at six, and there were instances of beginning at five. The work was extremely hard. The child was dragged out of bed, winter and summer, at five

o'clock in the morning, to begin work in the factory at six. There were no holidays. The work continued, with two intervals of half an hour (often spent in cleaning machinery), for thirteen hours a day. The atmosphere breathed by the operatives was physically unwholesome and morally degrading. The question had been taken up in Parliament, and in 1831 Thomas Sadler had introduced a Bill to limit the labour of factory children to ten hours. He was, however, not elected to the Reformed Parliament, and the work passed into other hands.

Lord Ashley's Factory Bill.

In 1833 the question was taken up by Lord Ashley, to a later generation known as the great philanthropist, Lord Shaftesbury. The Factory Bill introduced by him forbade the employment of children under nine years of age, and restricted the work of persons under eighteen to ten hours a day. Inspectors were to be appointed to see that the law was enforced and to provide for the education of the children. Eventually a modified measure was passed, which did not go as far as Lord Ashley wished, but greatly alleviated the sufferings of the factory children.

Elementary Education.

Thus the Reformed Parliament, in its first session, had remodelled the Irish Church, had abolished slavery, and had regulated factory labour. It had renewed the Charter of the Bank of England and terminated the monopoly of the East India Company. It also took up the question of elementary education, and a sum of £20,000 was voted for its improvement. The Ministry employed this money, through the agency of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, to give grants for school-houses, supplemented by large local subscriptions. The Catholics, however, were entirely omitted. But the feeble ray of enlightenment, which seemed at first merely to irradiate the gloom, brightened in after years into a glorious day, so that elementary education has become the most important and the most successful part of the teaching of the British Isles.

Poor Law Administration.

A Commission—of which Blomfield, Bishop of London, was chairman, and other members were Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Sturges Bourne, and Nassau Senior—had been appointed to inquire into the working of the Poor Law. Great pains were taken to ascertain the existing condition of the question. It was found that the whole nation was pauperised by the system of outdoor relief established in 1796. In most parishes doles were given to the inhabitants in addition to any other means they might possess. This had the effect of inducing farmers to employ at a reduced wage labourers so subsidised, and to force everyone to become a pauper. Men received a dole for

their wives and an extra sum for every child. This led to an enormous increase of pauper families. Relief in kind tempted the masters of poor-houses to make a profit by securing for themselves the orders for food and clothes. It was held by some that even able-bodied men were entitled to sixpence a day. Children did not support their parents, because they were supported by the parish. The poor man was bribed to marry, and as every girl who had gone wrong received two shillings a week, either from the father or from the parish, a woman with a family of bastards brought her husband a considerable dowry. The amount of the poor rate became intolerable. Hundreds of farms were without tenants because no reduction of rent could induce tenants to bear the weight of the poor rate.

Reform of the Poor Law.

The Commission recommended that after a certain date no out-door relief, except medical aid in sickness, should be given to any able-bodied man; it proposed that women should be compelled to support their illegitimate children, and that the law of settlement should be abolished, except settlement by birth or marriage. A Central Board was to be established to carry out the law, with powers to make parishes or unions, to effect uniformity in assessment, to dismiss incompetent officers, and to revise the whole system. On April 17th, 1832, Lord Althorp introduced a Bill for carrying out these recommendations, and, in spite of violent opposition, it became law by July 3rd. The measure was a decided success. Poor law relief, which cost the country £7,000,000 in 1832, cost only a little over £4,000,000 in 1837.

The Irish Question Destroys the Government.

But the Ministry which had done such great things was now approaching its end. The blow came from Ireland. O'Connell proposed to inquire into the means by which the Union had been brought about, thus raising the question of Repeal. After a debate which lasted six nights the motion was rejected by 529 votes to 38, but it left a sting behind. Another dispute arose about the tithes in Ireland, which the Roman Catholics naturally objected to pay. In 1833 the tithes in arrears amounted to £1,200,000, and Littleton, the Secretary for Ireland, carried a proposal for spending a million of money on the security of these tithes, which the Irish Government was to collect. This made matters worse. There was no justification for the tithe, and it ought not to have been collected. The whole question of the existence of the Irish Church was raised in the Cabinet, and there were grave differences of opinion on the subject. After a number of discussions, which it is needless to recount, Althorp resigned, and Grey determined to resign with him (1834). And so the

Reform Ministry, which had done so much for the United Kingdom, came to an end.

Lord Melbourne's Ministry.

Grey was succeeded by Melbourne, but he only held office for a short time. William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne, had been a follower of Canning, and had held office with the Wellington Ministry, but retired with the other Canningites in 1828. As Home Secretary in the Ministry of Lord Grey he helped to pass the Reform Bill, although he had little sympathy with its provisions. He was a man of great ability, but singularly indolent. His chief claim to distinction, however, is that he was Prime Minister when Queen Victoria came to the throne, and that he gave her a sound training in constitutional government. One of the disputes which had broken up the Grey Ministry was a Coercion Bill for Ireland. Melbourne determined to proceed with it, and it was passed in a modified form. Disputes about the tithes still continued. The power of O'Connell in the House increased, and the Ministry found it necessary to treat him with respect.

Wellington's Plurality of Offices.

Althorp, the leader of the Commons, enjoyed an authority based partly on his abilities and partly on his character. He was, after Grey's departure, the strongest bulwark of the Whigs, but on the death of his father he became Lord Spencer and a member of the House of Lords. His likeliest successor was Lord John Russell, but the King refused to accept him, and determined to dismiss Melbourne and send for Wellington. This was the last instance in British history in which a Ministry was dismissed by the action of the Sovereign. Wellington accepted office, but thought that the Prime Minister should be in the House of Commons, and that the post should be given to Peel. But Peel was in Italy, and it would take some time to communicate with him. Wellington, therefore, became sole Minister. The King made him First Lord of the Treasury, and gave him also the seals of the Home Office, the Colonies, and the Foreign Office.

Peel's Accession to Power.

James Hudson, the Queen's Secretary, afterwards celebrated as the champion of renovated Italy, was sent to look for Peel. He found him at a ball at Prince Torlonia's, on the evening of November 25th, 1834. Peel set off immediately and reached London on December 9th, becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer on the following day. Stanley refused to take office, Lyndhurst was made Lord Chancellor, and Wellington Foreign Secretary. Peel, however, was the real master of the Government. Born in the same year as Byron, who had died ten years before, he had been Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Liverpool at the age of

twenty-five, had succeeded Lord Sidmouth as Home Secretary in 1822, but had declined to serve under Canning. Although only a short period of his life had been spent in office, and he was generally in Opposition, his large-minded patriotism and preference of national to party considerations earned for him a worthy place in the first rank of British statesmen. He now issued a manifesto, addressed to the electors of Tavistock, in which he expressed his political principles. He said that he regarded the Reform Bill as a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question, and that he would never oppose the correction of proved abuses or the redress of real grievances. His chief objects were peace abroad and the reform of Church and State at home. By the enunciation of these principles he became the founder of the party known as Conservative, in distinction to the former Tories.

Defeat of Peel.

Peel thought it necessary to dissolve Parliament, which was probably a mistake. The election proved adverse to him. The nation was obviously incensed at the King's arbitrary dismissal of Melbourne. London and the boroughs elected Liberals, the counties Conservatives. Before the new members assembled, the old Houses of Parliament were burned down on October 17th; but, happily, Westminster Hall was saved. The new Parliament met on February 19th, 1835, and Peel was defeated on the election of Speaker and the Address to the Throne. He was afterwards beaten on the question of the Irish Church. He did not resign, however, until April 7th, having held power for four months. Strangely enough, his failures increased his reputation. Guizot said of him that he was the most Liberal of Conservatives, the most Conservative of Liberals, and the most capable man of all in both parties. Bulwer, who voted against him, declared that never a statesman entered office more triumphantly than Peel left it. The King had no alternative but to recall Melbourne, when Spring Rice became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord John Russell Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons, while Lord Palmerston received the seals of the Foreign Office.

Municipal Reform.

Parliament had now leisure to turn its attention to the reform of municipal government. Most of the new boroughs, constituted under the Reform Act, had no municipal government at all, and the municipalities under which the old boroughs were governed were generally corrupt. Many towns were ruled by small, irresponsible, and dishonest oligarchies. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of municipal corporations in England, Wales and Ireland. The inquiry began in the autumn of 1833

and was not concluded till the spring of 1835. The report then issued was very long and elaborate. The Commission had speedily ascertained that an unreformed House of Commons and unreformed corporations went together: that both were founded on monopoly and supported by corruption. The reform of Parliament naturally carried with it the reform of the corporations, and the Ministers who had introduced the Bill for reforming the one were charged with a second task in the reformation of the other.

Lord John Russell's Creation of Boroughs.

Lord John Russell proposed that the Bill which he introduced should apply to 183 boroughs, not including the metropolis. The general provisions were that the parliamentary boundary was to be the boundary of the municipality; that the borough was to be governed by a mayor and council; that the councillors were to be elected by residents who had been ratepayers for three consecutive years. The twenty largest boroughs were to be divided into wards, with a certain number of councillors attached to each. The Tories naturally opposed the measure, but it passed the Commons, owing to the statesmanlike moderation of Peel, who supported the principles of the Bill. In the Upper House, however, Lord Lyndhurst made amendments which entirely altered its character, transforming it into a Conservative measure, and, so changed, the Bill passed the Lords in August, 1838. The Commons accepted some of the amendments, but rejected those which essentially altered the character of the measure. Wellington advised the Lords to submit, and even Lyndhurst was convinced that further resistance was useless. The Bill—in all essential particulars the same measure as that which Lord John Russell had introduced—thus became law. The Lords by their action lost greatly in the opinion of the country.

The Orange Movement in Ireland.

Ireland still continued in a state of disturbance. During the preceding fifty years a number of political societies, called "Orange Lodges," in memory of the Protestant liberator, William of Orange, had sprung up in Ulster. Their object was to support the cause of Protestantism against the members of Catholic associations, who were called "Ribbon men." The attempt to diminish the revenues of the Irish Church favoured the extension of these lodges, which spread throughout England, Ireland, and the Colonies. The number of their members amounted to 300,000, and the Duke of Cumberland, the King's brother, was placed at their head, with almost despotic power. It was felt that the existence of these lodges was a serious political menace, and Parliament declared against them, while the King asserted his firm intention of discouraging all such societies in his dominions. The

result was that the lodges were broken up, and the organisation which threatened the peace of the Empire ceased to exist.

Death of William IV.

Other social reforms followed. A uniform registration of births, deaths, and marriages was ordered throughout the kingdom. The revenues of bishops and canons of the Established Church were remodelled, while the tax on newspapers was reduced to one penny, in spite of the Tories, who preferred cheap soap to a cheap Press. The debates of the Commons also began to be published, for the first time, by the House itself. But the passage of these reforms exhausted the force of the Ministry, and, distracted by internal dissensions, they failed to carry further measures of improvement. Discredited by repeated defeats, they would have resigned but for the illness and death of the King, who expired on June 20th. William IV. was honest and conscientious. His reign witnessed the passage of the Reform Bill and the other beneficent measures which accompanied and followed it, and a strong impulse was given to commerce by the extension of railways and the use of steamships. Whether, as a Sovereign, he had much to do with the advance or not, there can be no doubt but that in the reign of William IV. the progress of the nation was unusually rapid.

Accession of Queen Victoria.

On Tuesday morning, June 20th, 1837, shortly after two o'clock, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain left Windsor for Kensington Palace, where the Princess Victoria was residing with her mother, to inform the girl, who was now Queen, of the King's death. They reached the Palace about five, and rang and stamped for a considerable time before they roused the porter to open the gate. They were again kept waiting in the courtyard, and were then shown into one of the lower rooms, where they seemed to be forgotten by everybody. They rang the bell and desired that the attendant of the Princess Victoria might be sent to inform Her Royal Highness that they requested an audience on business of importance. When the attendant came she said that the Princess was in bed and sound asleep, and that she could not venture to disturb her. They replied, "We have come to the Queen on business of State, and even her sleep must give place to that." To prove that she did not wish to keep them waiting, the girl-Queen came into the room in a loose white dressing-gown and shawl, her night-cap thrown off, her hair falling over her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes, but perfectly collected and dignified.

Queen Victoria has left an account of this event in her own words, so simple and graphic that it should not be omitted in any mention of this momentous occasion. "I was awoke at six o'clock

by Marie, who told me that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conyngham were here, and wished to see me. I got out of bed and went into my sitting-room (only in my dressing-gown) and saw them, and Lord Conyngham then acquainted me that my poor uncle, the King, was no more and had expired at twelve minutes past two in the morning, and consequently that I am Queen. Lord Conyngham then knelt down and kissed my hand." After she had received an account of the King's last moments she went to her room and dressed. She then notes, "Since it has pleased Providence to place me in this station, I shall do my utmost to fulfil my duty towards my country. I am very young, and perhaps in many, though not in all, things, inexperienced; but I am sure that few have more real goodwill and real desire to do what is fit and right than I have."

Queen Victoria's First Council.

The Queen's diary continues: "At nine came Lord Melbourne, whom I saw in my room and, of course, quite alone, as I shall always do with all my Ministers. He kissed my hand, and I then acquainted him that it had long been my intention to retain him and the rest of the present Ministry at the head of affairs, that it could not be in better hands than his. He then again kissed my hand. He then sent to me the declaration which I was to send to the Council, which he wrote himself, and which is a very fine one. I then talked with him some little time longer, after which he left me. He was in full dress. I like him very much, and feel confidence in him. He is a very straightforward, honest, clever, and good man. At about eleven Lord Melbourne came again to me and spoke to me about various subjects. At about half-past eleven I went downstairs and held a Council in the red saloon. I went in, of course, quite alone and remained seated the whole time. My two uncles, the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex, and Lord Melbourne conducted me. I was not at all nervous, and had the satisfaction of hearing that the people were satisfied with what I had done and how I had done it."

Disturbances in Canada.

The first disturbance to the quiet of Victoria's reign came from Canada. The condition of that country was perilous. Lower or Eastern Canada was inhabited, for the most part, by men of French descent, whereas Upper Canada was almost exclusively British. The French of Lower Canada were disinclined to forge ahead, whereas the inhabitants of the Upper Province were supporters of energetic progress. The most important statesman in Lower Canada was Papineau. He had been Speaker of the House, and had planned a Convention to discuss the grievances of the Colony, the chief of which was the need of self-government,

although it was said that he desired to make Canada into an independent State. A rebellion broke out in the lower province; it was not very important at first, but was clumsily dealt with and much blood was shed. The disturbance spread to Upper Canada, but here it took slight hold. The Earl of Durham was selected by Lord John Russell to settle these disturbances. He was an extremely able man, full of energy and passion, who has never received that meed of praise to which his public services entitled him.

Lord Durham in Canada.

Durham arrived at Quebec at the end of May, 1838, taking with him, as secretary, Charles Buller, the most brilliant of the younger generation of public men. He soon found himself considerably hampered by the action of Parliament, which passed a Bill abridging his powers. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and there can be little doubt but that, if Durham had been left to himself, he would have carried to a triumphant issue the accommodation which he was charged to effect. He secured a generous amnesty, but excluded from its operation Papineau and others, whom he exiled to Bermuda, threatening them with death if they returned. As they had not been tried, the action of the Governor was illegal. He also dismissed his regular Council and appointed another. Nothing could be more heroic than his performance of duty while wasting with an incurable disease and threatened by factious opposition. His chief antagonist in England was Brougham, with whom he had a personal quarrel. As the Home Ministry disallowed the ordinances, Durham had no alternative but to resign. Before he left Canada he issued a proclamation in self-defence, which, to say the least of it, was extremely indiscreet, and its terms were condemned by Ministers. He set out for England shortly after the issue of the proclamation, but before he could reach home he was recalled. He came back a disgraced man and was accorded a triumphant reception. He spent his leisure in drawing up, with the assistance of Charles Buller, a report which marked a new era in the government of colonies. His principles of administration, which in two or three years were in full operation in Canada, were afterwards extended to all colonies of European race which have any claim to the character of important communities.

The People's Charter.

On May 8th, 1838, the so-called People's Charter, the manifesto of the Chartists, was published to the world. Chartism sprang from the conviction that the Liberals in Parliament did not intend to push Reform any farther. Regarded in the light of modern ideas, the Charter is not very formidable. It consisted

of six points. Universal suffrage came first, which really meant manhood suffrage, as the promoters had no idea of extending the suffrage to women. This was followed by vote by ballot and annual parliaments. Then came the abolition of the property qualification for members, the payment of members, and the division of the country into equal electoral districts.

A Radical Victory.

The Ministry, in the meantime, became gradually weaker, and were only allowed to exist on sufferance. They had no power to carry measures or to support those who served them. In May, 1839, they were defeated on the Jamaica Bill, which proposed to suspend the Constitution of Jamaica for five years, in consequence of the difficulties made by the Assembly in connection with the emancipation of the slaves. The Bill was opposed by the Radicals, led by Joseph Hume and by Sir Robert Peel, and only carried by five votes. The Ministry resigned, but Sir Robert Peel would not take office unless permitted to make changes in the Queen's personal household. He felt he could not retain his authority if the Queen were surrounded by ladies deeply devoted to the opposite party. The Queen vehemently objected to any change being made, an attitude which she afterwards admitted to have been mistaken, and Lord Melbourne returned to office.

Introduction of the Penny Post.

The same year witnessed the introduction of the penny post, though the reform did not come into full operation until January 10th, 1840. The plan of conveying letters for a uniform low charge was invented by Rowland Hill, but the adhesive stamp was of another origin. At this time the postage of no letter was less than twopence. Letters from the country to London cost from sixpence to a shilling; letters from Scotland or Ireland from a shilling to eighteenpence. Rowland Hill showed that the cost of carrying each letter was extremely small, and that, if a stimulus were given to correspondence by lower rates, the profits would increase enormously. Experience has amply confirmed the truth of his reasoning, and cheap postage has been adopted by all civilised countries. Of course, the introduction of postage stamps greatly facilitated the new arrangements. In consequence of this change the privilege of franking letters was abolished.

More Chartist Riots.

Chartist riots continued during the whole of the year. The worst of them took place at Newport, in Monmouthshire, on November 4th. The rioters, after sacking the villages through which they passed, and compelling the whole adult population to join them, reached Newport at four o'clock in the morning, 50,000 strong, and were joined there by another division. The soldiers

received the order to load, but the mob fired first. Then, under the fire of the soldiers, the mob dispersed.

Queen Victoria's Coronation.

The question of the Queen's marriage now began to assume prominence. The Coronation had taken place on June 28th, 1838. The Queen has given an interesting sketch of it in her "Journal": "I was awoke at four o'clock in the morning by the guns in the Park, and could not get much sleep afterwards, on account of the noise of the people and the bands. Got up at seven, feeling strong and well. At half-past nine I went into the next room and dressed exactly in my House of Lords costume. At ten I got into the State coach, with the Duke of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle, and began our progress. It was a fine day, and the crowds of people exceeded what I have ever seen. Many as there were the day I went to the City, it was nothing to the multitudes, the millions, of my loyal subjects who were assembled in every spot to witness the procession. Their good humour and excessive loyalty were beyond everything, and I cannot say how proud I feel to be Queen of such a nation. I was alarmed at times, for fear that the people would be crushed and squeezed on account of the tremendous rush and pressure.

"I reached the Abbey, amid deafening cheers, at a little after half-past eleven. I first went into the robing-room, quite close to the entrance, where I found my eight train-bearers. After putting on my mantle, and the young ladies having properly got hold of it, and Lord Conyngham holding the end of it, I left the robing-room and the procession began. The sight was splendid; the rank of Peeresses, quite beautiful, all in their robes, and the Peers on the other side. My young train-bearers were always near me, and helped me when I wanted anything. The Bishop of Durham stood on the side near me, but he was very maladroit, and never could tell me what was to take place.

"At the beginning of the anthem I retired to St. Edward's Chapel, a dark, small place, immediately behind the altar; took off my crimson robe and kirtle, and put on the supertunica of cloth of gold, took off also my circlet of diamonds, and then proceeded bareheaded into the Abbey. I was then seated upon St. Edward's Chair. Then followed all the various things, and last the crown being placed on my head, which was, I must own, a most beautiful, impressive moment. All the Peers and Peeresses put on their coronets at the same instant. My excellent Lord Melbourne, who stood very close to me during the whole ceremony, was completely overcome at this moment and very much affected. He gave me such a kind and, I may say, such a fatherly look. The

Enthronisation and the Homage of, first, all the Bishops, then my uncles, and lastly of all the Peers, in their respective order, was very fine. Poor old Lord Rolle, who is eighty-two, and dreadfully infirm, in attempting to ascend the steps, fell and rolled quite down, but was not the least hurt. When he attempted to re-ascend them I got up and advanced to the end of the steps to prevent another fall.

Scene at Queen Victoria's Coronation.

" I then again descended from the Throne, and repaired, with all the Peers bearing the Regalia, to St. Edward's Chapel, as it is called; but, as Lord Melbourne says, was more unlike a chapel than anything he had ever seen, for what was called an altar was covered with sandwiches, bottles of wine, etc. There we waited some minutes. The Archbishop came in, and ought to have delivered the orb to me; but I had already got it, and he was so confused and puzzled and knew nothing and went away. The procession being formed, I replaced my crown, which I had taken off for a few minutes, took the orb in my left hand, and the sceptre in my right, and, thus loaded, proceeded through the Abbey, which resounded with cheers, to the first robing-room, and here we waited for at least an hour, with all my ladies and trainbearers.

" The Archbishop had, most awkwardly, put the ring on the wrong finger, and the consequence was that I had the greatest difficulty to take it off again, which I at last did with much pain. At half-past four I re-entered my carriage, the crown on my head and the sceptre and orb in my hands, and we proceeded the same way as we came, the crowds, if possible, having increased. The enthusiasm, affection, and loyalty were really touching, and I shall ever remember the day as the proudest of my life. I came home a little after six, really not feeling tired."

The Queen Chooses her Husband.

The choice of the King of the Belgians, in selecting a husband for the Queen, had fallen on a member of his own house, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, brother of the reigning Duke, and he took great pains with the Prince's education to fit him for his responsibilities. The Queen wrote to her uncle Leopold, on October 12th, 1839, that the cousins had arrived at half-past seven on Thursday, both looking very well and much improved. " Ernest is grown quite handsome, and Albert's beauty is most striking, and he is amiable and unaffected—in short, very fascinating. He is exceedingly admired here." Two days afterwards she told Prince Albert that she wished to marry him. " The warm affection he showed me on learning this gave me great pleasure. He seems perfection, and I think I have the prospect of great

happiness before me. I love him more than I can say, and I shall do everything in my power to render the sacrifice he has made (for a sacrifice, in my opinion, it is) as small as I can. These last few days have passed like a dream to me, and I am so much bewildered by it all that I know hardly how to write; but I do feel very, very happy."

Marriage of Queen Victoria.

The marriage took place on February 10th, 1840, at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and the married couple went to Windsor in the afternoon. The marriage, although arranged by statesmen, was a marriage of love. The Prince's personal virtues contributed largely to the prosperity of the reign, and his many-sided culture and intellectual activity left their mark on the community. He contributed to making German thought, in its various branches, current coin in his adopted country, and in this regard achieved a result which the union with Hanover failed to accomplish.

The Powers and Egypt.

The year 1840 was marked by British intervention in Syria. In 1832 Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, had made war upon his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, had captured Acre, occupied Damascus, and, in 1833, secured for himself the whole of Syria and the Province of Adana. In 1839, the Sultan, feeling himself stronger, had renewed the war, but Mehemet Ali had gained a decided victory over the Turks, and the Turkish fleet deserted to his cause. A Quadruple Alliance was formed between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia to force the Turks and Egyptians to make peace. From this alliance France held aloof; having great influence in Egypt, she naturally supported the Egyptians against the Turks. In fact, the Egyptians governed Syria better than the Turks did. For a short time it seemed possible that war might break out between France and Great Britain, but France eventually became convinced that she could not stand against the rest of Europe. Beirut was attacked and Acre captured by Admiral Sir Charles Napier, and Mehemet Ali was turned out of Syria. In compensation he was recognised as Pasha of Egypt, with virtual independence.

End of Melbourne's Ministry.

Melbourne's administration had now lost credit, and a vote of no confidence, taken in April, was rejected by only twenty-one. In August, however, the Government was able to pass a Municipal Act for Ireland, the measure abolishing fifty-eight municipalities and reconstituting ten. But Ministers failed to carry other measures of importance, and a Sugar Duty Bill was rejected by a majority of thirty-six. After this Sir Robert Peel brought forward a motion of want of confidence, which was carried by a single vote.

DEFEAT OF MELBOURNE

Lord Melbourne had the alternative of resigning or dissolving Parliament, and chose the latter; but the country decided against him. In the new Parliament, which met in August, 1841, the Conservatives numbered 367 and the Liberals 286. The Ministers were defeated on the Address by a large majority and, to the distress of the Queen, Lord Melbourne resigned.

CHAPTER II

THE CITIZEN KING

The Bourgeois Monarchy.

LOUIS PHILIPPE ascended the throne of the Bourbons as King, not of France, but of the French. He was supported by the heads of the Liberal Opposition and the leaders of the Napoleonic party who had returned from exile. The new monarchy was distinctly middle-class, finding favour with the manufacturers and shopkeepers, who dreaded a republic on the one hand and an aristocratic autocracy on the other. The supporters of the monarchy of July did not form a homogeneous body. They were composed of a party of movement and a party of reaction. The first, represented by Laffitte, Lafayette and Odilon Barrot, sympathised with the popular risings in different parts of Europe, and wished France to take the side of peoples against their Sovereigns. The second agreed with Louis Philippe in thinking that the Revolution of July had been closed on August 9th. The leaders of this party were Guizot, Casimir Périer and the Duc de Broglie. The King, however, was obliged to form his first Ministry from both sections, and we find that it included a number of incongruous names. It comprised Laffitte, Dupont de l'Eure, Bignon, Gérard, Molé, Casimir Périer, Dupin, Guizot, Broglie. Lafayette commanded the National Guard, as he had done in the days of the Revolution, and Odilon Barrot was Prefect of the Seine.

France and the Belgian Revolution.

This divergence of opinion became clearly shown in the attitude of the Government towards the Belgian Revolution of 1830. Some believed that they were bound to support a revolt which had directly sprung from their own. They called upon the King to declare himself a supporter of the democracy, to punish the Ministers of Charles X. who had signed the ordinances, and to prepare the way for a declaration of war against the Sovereigns and Ministers of the Holy Alliance. Polignac, Peyronnet, and two others were confined in the Château of Vincennes. The Chamber, at the end of September, had voted their accusation, and many were in favour of their death. The Chamber, however, presented an address to the King, recommending that capital punishment should be done away with, and Louis Philippe expressed his satisfaction. The agitation, however, continued.

On October 17th rioters proceeded to the Palais Royal, crying "Death to the Ministers!" and on the following day a mob of ruffians marched to Vincennes to execute the prisoners. They were resisted by Dumesnil, who declared that, if the gates were forced, he would blow the château into the air. In this crisis, which threatened the safety of the King, the Conservatives Broglie and Guizot determined to resign. Louis Philippe adopted a moderate course with tact and courage. He reconstituted the Ministry with Laffitte and Dupont de l'Eure at its head; but appointed as Minister of the Interior Montalivet, a man devoted to himself. Montalivet proposed a reform of the electorate, which, by reducing the property qualification for the franchise, doubled the number of voters, while his colleague Mérilhou laid before the Chamber of Peers a scheme of public education which he thought would be popular in the country. At the same time the King resolutely opposed all violence. However, the trial of the Ministers took place on December 21st, before the Chamber of the Peers. They were condemned to imprisonment for life, but the extremists desired their death, and a revolt took place, which it required all the efforts of the army and the National Guard to keep in check.

Anti-Clerical Outbreak.

On February 14th, 1831, the anniversary of the death of the Duc de Berri, the Legitimists held a special service in the Church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, when a collection was made for the soldiers of the Royal Guard who had been wounded in the days of the Revolution. The angry mob attacked the church and the presbytery, and on the following day the palace of the Archbishop was attacked, and Notre Dame itself was in danger of being sacked. A strong feeling against the clergy broke out, both in the capital and in the provinces, and the King was forced to abstain from attending mass. The result was to render the Liberals unpopular with the middle classes who governed the country. When the King refused to support the inhabitants of the Italian duchies of the Emilia against an Austrian intervention, Laffitte resigned.

Casimir Périer Succeeds.

He was succeeded by Casimir Périer, the head of the Conservative party, a man of large fortune and commanding temper, clear head and energetic spirit, but possessed, above all, with the sense of authority and a passion for power. His manners were imperious, his tone of voice stern and occasionally offensive. He kept the King under strict discipline; every dispatch was submitted to him before it met the eyes of the Sovereign; and no communication was made by the King to the Ministers without the previous approval of the Minister. He was always ready to take

responsibility upon himself, even if it brought hatred with it, and aimed at the establishment of a free but regular government, a government of peace which encouraged no violence, either at home or abroad. He dissolved the Chamber on May 31st, 1831, and asked the electors to decide between the new monarchy and the old. The enlarged electoral body gave a decisive verdict, which disarmed, once and for all, the forces of Legitimism and at the same time repressed the Radicals. Meanwhile, the heads of the Opposition, Arago, Odilon Barrot and Laffitte, were returned to the Chamber.

Cholera Ravages Paris.

In fourteen months Casimir Périer had firmly established his authority over the Chamber, and the power of the Chamber over the Sovereign and the country. He carried to a practical result the programme of the Doctrinaires and the more Liberal Conservatives. To the democracy he opposed the army; to the revolutionaries the doctrines of Liberalism. He exercised a dictatorship, but a liberal dictatorship. He called to his side Dupin, Guizot and Thiers. Unfortunately his rule was short. The cholera, the scourge of God, which broke out in Paris on March 26th, 1832, after a masked ball, and slew nearly 20,000 victims in three months, brought about a kind of truce between the violent antagonisms of the two parties. Indeed, most of the Deputies had left Paris to avoid the pestilence. The Prime Minister, with rare devotion, paid a visit to the hospital, the Hôtel Dieu, accompanied by the Duc d'Orléans, the eldest son of the King, but he was attacked by the disease and died on May 16th, after five weeks' illness. He disappeared from the scene just when the new monarchy was about to undergo its most serious trial.

The Duchesse de Berri's Rebellion.

In the night of April 28th, 1832, an Italian steamer, the *Carlo Alberto*, landed in the neighbourhood of Marseilles the Duchesse de Berri, accompanied by some of her faithful supporters, such as Bourmont and Kergolay, with the object of recovering the crown for her son, the Duc de Bordeaux. She failed to rouse the south of France, but collected the chiefs of a new Vendéan insurrection at Nantes, and forced the Government to declare a state of siege in four Departments. With superb audacity, she crossed the south, and entered Bordeaux in an open carriage. Reaching in this way the Château de Plassac, she issued to the people of La Vendée a summons to arms for May 24th. Only a few hundreds answered the call, and two engagements, one at La Chêne, the other at La Pénissière, sufficed to crush the movement. The defeated duchess wandered about in strange disguise from cottage to cottage, but was eventually caught and imprisoned

in the citadel of Blaye. Here she was delivered of a daughter, the fruit of a secret marriage with Count Hector Lucchesi di Palli, Chancellor of the King of the two Sicilies. This somewhat untoward, but not dishonourable, event, lending a touch of the ludicrous to her case, rendered her politically powerless for the future.

Insurrection in Paris.

A still more serious insurrection broke out in Paris on June 5th, on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque. It began with a conflict with the Municipal Guard at the Bridge of Austerlitz, and the quarters of the Temple, St. Martin, St. Dénis, and the Place de la Bastille were soon covered with barricades. But the insurgents had little chance of success. They were not joined by the workmen, and the middle classes were enraged against them, while the National Guard assisted the troops of the line on the following day, when the rioters were dispersed; they were treated with clemency, however, only a few being punished.

Guizot's Optimism.

The natural successor of Casimir Périer would have been Guizot, the leader of the Doctrinaires. But the King had the strongest objection to appointing him. He had got rid of one dictator and did not wish to subject himself to another. For four months, from June to October, 1832, the King strained every nerve to avoid entrusting the government to Guizot and his friends. He attracted to his side men whom he disliked less, such as Montalivet and Sebastiani, and kept for himself the Presidency of the Council. But events were too strong for him, and, after October 11th, he gave to Marshal Soult the task of forming a Ministry. Broglie became Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thiers took the portfolio of the Interior, and Guizot that of Education. It was a "Ministry of all the talents," a triumph for the Doctrinaires.

In February, 1833, Guizot was able to say, "Insurrection is dead, the societies are dead, revolutionary propagandism is dead, and the revolutionary spirit is dead." This was too optimistic a view, but, in order to destroy the evil of unrest and all prospect of its revival, Guizot passed a law concerning primary education in June, 1833, which invited the Catholics to associate themselves with State officials in the work of establishing internal and social peace. He regarded a system of religious education as the best means of arresting disintegration and the dangers to which society was exposed. Thiers, on his side, urged the adoption of a system of public works at a cost of 100,000,000 francs to be spread over five years.

But, in this very summer, the heads of the Republican party were stimulated to fresh efforts. The Ministry attempted to suppress

activity by indicting twenty-seven of the Republican leaders before the Court of Assizes. They were all acquitted, and this gave new encouragement to the leaders, who thought the time had come to unfurl their standard. An explosion was brought about through an attempt made by the Ministry forcibly to suppress strikes. In Lyons an insurrection lasted from April 9th to April 13th, and when news of the outbreak reached Paris barricades were raised there by the Republicans. Thiers adopted rigorous measures, arresting the most active members of the Society of the Rights of Man, and holding 40,000 soldiers in readiness to march. In a short time all the positions of the insurgents were captured. Attempts of a similar kind made at St. Étienne, Clermont, Marseilles, Belfort, Luneville, and elsewhere were extinguished with equal success.

Attempt to Crush Republicanism.

Opportunity was now taken to crush the Republican faction. Laws of great severity were passed against the carrying of arms and against the democratic journals. The elections which took place in May, 1834, produced a Parliament still more hostile to Republican ideas. It redoubled the severity of previous Ministries. During the last four years, there had been 529 Press trials. Journalists had been condemned to periods of imprisonment which amounted to 106 years, and the fines paid for offences reached the sum of 400,000 francs. The *Tribune*, the principal organ of the Republicans, had been prosecuted 111 times, and its editor had been condemned to imprisonment twenty times. The *National*, the organ of Armand Carrel, had been treated with similar harshness. The Government was determined to bring the whole of the offenders before a special High Court composed of the Chamber of Peers. Two thousand persons had been arrested, and 164 were brought to trial. The trial did not begin till March 5th, 1835, and was not concluded till January 23rd, 1836, by which time 4,000 witnesses had been examined. The offenders were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, but were all amnestied on the occasion of the marriage of the Duc d'Orléans, which took place on May 8th, 1836.

Attempt to Assassinate Louis Philippe.

While this trial was proceeding, on July 28th, 1835, as Louis Philippe was riding with the most distinguished members of the Court, the Government, and the army, to attend a review in honour of the Revolution of July, a so-called infernal machine was exploded in the Boulevard du Temple close to the head of the cortège. The machine consisted of a row of musket-barrels filled with bullets, and was placed in a window commanding the procession. Eighteen persons who were close to the King were

killed, amongst them the ancient Marshal Mortier, Duc de Treviso, and many others were wounded. The King was slightly injured, but continued his progress with commendable courage. The author of this conspiracy was Joseph Fieschi, a Corsican adventurer of abandoned character, who had once served under Murat. He seemed to have had only two accomplices, who were guillotined with him on February 16th, and were regarded as martyrs by the Democrats and Socialists.

The "Laws of September."

The result of this conspiracy was the passing of the Laws of September, three in number, dealing respectively with courts of assize, trial by jury, and the Press. The first gave the Ministry power to create as many courts of assize as might be thought necessary for trying offenders against the security of the State; the second allowed condemnations to take place by a bare majority of the jury; and the third established in their most repulsive form the most stringent laws against the Press. The Press law was directed equally against Legitimists and Republicans, both opponents of the Government, but the Legitimists, having a larger command of money, were less affected by it. The laws were strongly opposed by Royer-Collard and Odilon Barrot. Some months afterwards Armand Carrel, the brilliant editor of the *National*, fell (July 24th, 1836) in a duel with Émile de Girardin, in the cause of the liberty of the Press.

The Rise of Thiers.

Meanwhile a third Party was being organised, consisting partly of men who could not make up their minds, and partly of men whose ambitions had been disappointed. These were favoured by Louis Philippe, who did not like the Doctrinaires. The consequence was that the Broglie Ministry was overthrown, and, in February, 1836, a new Ministry was formed, in which the Presidency of the Council and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs were held by Thiers.

The first Ministry of Thiers lasted from February 22nd to September 6th, 1836. From the first there was dissension between the Sovereign and his Ministers. They both determined to govern and, when this could not be done openly, they resorted to obscure and subtle means of gaining their ends. Thiers once said to the King: "Sire, I am very subtle," and Louis Philippe replied: "I am more subtle than you, because I do not say so." The King's declared policy was to resist the Revolutionary movement at home and, while enforcing respect for existing treaties, to avoid interference in the affairs of other States. Lamartine once said to Thiers with great truth: "You have in you a restless, jealous, insatiable spirit, which nothing can appease, and which brooks

no rival. You have a passion for governing, for governing alone, for governing always, for governing with a majority or with a minority, for governing either with or against all, for reigning alone, for reigning always and at any price."

Thiers Resigns.

The difference broke into a flame with reference to the civil war between the Carlists and the Cristinos, which still continued in Spain. Great Britain intervened, according to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. As early as March 18th, 1836, Thiers protested to Lord Palmerston against the policy of the Quadruple Alliance, and reserved to France liberty of action with regard to Spain. In July he made preparations for the intervention. He increased the foreign legion, which the Government had lent to the Queen of Spain against the Carlists, and offered the services of a general to command the royal army. He said: "We intend to annihilate Don Carlos, the hero of Navarre." By the Revolution of La Granja, which broke out on August 12th, 1836, the Queen-Mother was forced by the party of progress to accept the liberal Constitution of 1812. On August 24th, Louis Philippe, having heard that Thiers had allowed it to be announced that a French army would enter Spain, had an official denial inserted in the *Moniteur*, without communicating with his Minister. Thiers, unable to send the army which he had promised, decided to keep his soldiers in arms at the foot of the Pyrenees, but the King ordered him to disband them. Nothing but resignation was possible. Thiers exclaimed indignantly: "The King does not desire intervention; we desire it, so I resign."

Algiers a French Colony.

A new Ministry was formed, with Molé as President of the Council and Guizot as Minister of Education. Molé was opposed to the Doctrinaires and devoted to the King; Guizot, the head of the Doctrinaires, was purposely kept in a subordinate position. The Ministry was compelled to deal with the affairs of Algiers, the conquest of which had been among the last acts of the Bourbon dynasty. The subjection of the country had been continued with varying success. General after general had applied himself to this task, without producing any decisive results, and the resistance of the Algerians had been strengthened by the alliance of neighbouring States. In February, 1834, after some victories had been gained in the province of Oran, peace was made with the young Emir, Abd-el-Kader, a man of remarkable powers and rare dignity of character, who had justly obtained a pre-eminence in the councils of his countrymen. It was now determined to constitute Algiers a French colony, to put an end to the restricted occupation, and to make the country into a Gallic India, as a

valuable training-ground for soldiers and generals. This project led to a renewal of hostilities in 1835, at first with results disastrous to the French. Marshal Clauzel was sent as Governor to Algiers, with General Bugeaud and the Duc d'Orléans.

A French Empire in Africa.

The conquest of the interior of the country was very difficult and was interrupted by many surprises. Clauzel came to Paris to consult upon future operations, and at that very time the change of Ministry took place. Thiers had desired the conquest of the colony, which was also the view of Clauzel, but Molé advocated a middle course, while the British Government viewed the extension of French colonies with suspicion. Eventually, the policy of Molé prevailed. Marshal Valée, the conqueror of Constantine, said: "I desire the French to restore Roman Africa. I will endeavour to found cities and open roads of communication. The army shall no longer scour the provinces. I will go slowly, but will never retreat. Wherever, at my bidding, France sets her foot, I will establish trading stations. The cities which already exist I will develop." This programme became the policy of the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the country.

Louis Napoleon's Dramatic Appearance

The policy of the King and of Molé had rendered France secure against the attempts of Republicans and Legitimists, but a new danger threatened it by the revival of Napoleonism, which might have been thought to have become extinct by the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of the great Napoleon, in 1832. The head of the Napoleon family was now Prince Louis Napoleon, son of the younger brother of Napoleon, who had been King of Holland, and Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine. He had long brooded over his fortunes, and had succeeded in gaining over to his side some members of the garrison of Strasbourg, On October 29th, 1836, Prince Napoleon suddenly appeared at Strasbourg, and called upon Vaudrey, colonel of an artillery regiment and an ardent Napoleonist, to assist him. Vaudrey summoned his regiment at 5 a.m. on the following day to the courtyard of the barracks. There Louis Napoleon appeared in the uniform of his uncle, accompanied by a few officers, one of whom carried a tame eagle. The soldiers responded to the appeal and marched through the city, arresting in their bedrooms Voirol, the commandant, and the prefect. They then proceeded to the artillery barracks, where their appeal elicited no response. Prince Louis was arrested without shedding of blood, the revolted artillery regiment marched quietly back to its barracks, and the incident was at an end. After a few days' imprisonment, he was allowed to go to America, and his accomplices were tried and

acquitted. It was safer to make an attempt of this kind ridiculous than to render it formidable by severity.

Admiration of Napoleon I.

At the same time Napoleonism tended to increase in strength and, indeed, Louis Philippe was not hostile to its development, as the policy of its supporters served to accentuate the difference between the policy of the Monarchy of July and that of the Restoration. Thiers, the illustrious author of *Consulat et l'Empire*, was not averse to the admiration of the hero whom he had deified, and those who had borne a conspicuous part under the Empire were, therefore, well received at the Tuileries. The palaces of Paris and Versailles were decorated with pictures of Napoleon's battles; the Arc de l'Étoile, inscribed with the names of the victories of the Empire, was brought to completion; the column in the Place Vendôme was surmounted by the statue of "the Little Corporal," in his cocked hat and grey overcoat. Bridges, streets, and squares were named after Napoleon's victories; in the Palace of Versailles, converted into a National Museum, his name was placed by the side of that of the Grand Monarch. Bonapartism, idealised by poetry and legend and associated with the tragic death of its hero on the rock of St. Helena, was the political creed of the large majority of the nation. The memorial of St. Helena was in everyone's hand, Napoleon's name was the burden of the national poetry, but all this enthusiasm had not sufficed to carry Prince Louis into the Tuileries, as it had carried his uncle, after the return from Elba. Balzac, a great admirer of the Emperor, has shown us that the major proportion of the healthiest elements in French society at this time were drawn from the traditions of the Empire, and were, indeed, the best antidote to the commonplace ideas and smug shopkeeping vulgarity which were the prevailing notes of the middle-class Monarchy of July.

The New Chamber.

The new elections of the autumn of 1837 were on the whole favourable to the Government. The parties in the Chambers were reckoned, as is usual in Continental Chambers, from Left to Right, the Left being the Liberals and the Right the Conservatives. The Left was divided into three sections. The Extreme Left—or what in England would be called the Radicals—still theoretically Republican, numbered Garnier Pagès as its most important member, but it was afterwards strengthened by the adhesion of Henri Martin and Ledru Rollin. The Left, the old Republican party, was led by Dupont de l'Eure, Arago the astronomer, and the banker Laffitte. But Laffitte at this time lost his election. Ledru Rollin was head of a party called the Dynastic Left, which was in favour of a democratic monarchy. Between the Left and the Right was

the Centre, divided into Left Centre and Right Centre, the former being led by Thiers, whose chief characteristic was the support of a spirited foreign policy. The Right Centre, which was as large as all the other parties put together, was composed mainly of prosperous merchants, but also contained the Doctrinaires, led by Guizot. Between the two Centres there was a small independent party of no great importance. The Right consisted of Legitimists of different complexion, but numbered only between twenty and thirty members.

Amnesty to Political Offenders

The year 1837 may be considered as the high-water mark of the July Monarchy. In the last days of 1836 an attempt on the life of the King was made by a young man, named Meunier, a contemptible creature, who was not worth executing, and was punished by banishment. Molé and Montalivet were the leaders of the Government, and Thiers had promised the King that, as leader of the Left Centre, he would cause no embarrassment to the Cabinet. Charles X. had expired at Lyons and Queen Hortense died at Arenenberg, on the Lake of Constance, while her son Louis Napoleon sought refuge in England. The time was come when an amnesty could be granted to political offenders. This was issued in May, 1837, and tended to appease the opponents of the Monarchy, at least for a season.

Marriage of the Duc d'Orléans.

The time had arrived for marrying the Duc d'Orléans, the heir to the throne. His hand was sought by the King of Prussia, for a princess of the House of Hohenzollern. But the Court of the Tuileries preferred an Austrian alliance, and the daughter of the Archduke Charles, the hero of Aspern, was selected. But this negotiation failed, from the opposition of the Legitimists. At last a suitable bride was found in the person of Princess Helen of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, a niece of Queen Louise of Prussia, a lady of heroic character, worthy to occupy any throne. Leaving her home in May, the Princess was met at Fulda by the Duc de Broglie, and the marriage took place at Fontainebleau. The festivities added brilliancy to a splendid summer, and the House of Orléans was definitely received into the circle of reigning families.

Dreams of Empire.

The opponents of the Government now set themselves to organise their forces—Thiers, Guizot, Broglie, Villemain, Odilon Barrot, and even Berryer the Legitimist. The only common ground of attack was that the monarchy was too pacific. The coalition stirred their countrymen to resume the great part which the Empire, and even the Convention, had once played in Europe. Louis Philippe dazzled them with the conquest of Algeria, and opened the museum of Versailles, a veritable pageant of military glory.

The great struggle took place in the debate on the Address, which began on December 26th, 1838, and lasted till January 19th, 1839. In this the whole Opposition took part, the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left. Thiers spoke thirteen times, and Guizot twelve. Molé fought with great courage, and won the day, but only by thirteen votes. The country, however, decided against him, and the King dissolved the Chambers at the beginning of February. The electoral excitement was at fever height, Thiers, Guizot, Odilon Barrot, Garnier Pagès all thundering against the Monarchy.

An Insurrection that Failed.

In the meantime a large majority declared in favour of the coalition. A few acute observers saw that the attack was not so much on the Ministry as on the Throne. The mutiny of 1839 was a prelude to the disaster of 1848. Molé resigned, but it was difficult to form a new Ministry. The bond of union between the Royalists and the Republicans had been broken. The interregnum lasted from March 8th to May 14th, and Soult, who was appointed Prime Minister, was unable to form a Government. He was, however, assisted by the conspiracy of Barbe, who, with the assistance of Blanqui and Martin Bernard, reorganised a secret society called "The Seasons," and prepared for a democratic insurrection. On May 12th an attempt was made to seize the Prefecture of Police and the Hôtel de Ville. It was easily defeated, and by the evening Barbe was a prisoner and Bernard and Blanqui in flight. Next day Soult succeeded in forming a Ministry, the principal members of which were Duchâtel, Dufaure and Villemain. A new compact was made with the King, and he was accorded almost complete control of the foreign policy of the country. But the passions aroused by the struggle were not so easily allayed.

Trouble in the East.

An Eastern Question now arose, which seriously affected the relations between France and Great Britain. The Treaty of Kutajah made in 1833 had ceded Syria to the Pasha of Egypt. Palmerston, now British Foreign Minister, a strong supporter of the Turkish Government, was afraid of the growing influence of France in Egypt through her support of Mehemet Ali, and was an enemy of Russia, which, he thought, had allowed the favourable terms in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. He therefore stirred up Sultan Mahmoud at Constantinople to recover his lost province. The Turkish army crossed the Euphrates, but was defeated by the Egyptian troops at Nisib on January 24th, 1839, and the road to Constantinople lay open to the conqueror, Mehemet Ali.

The five Great Powers exerted themselves to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Soult had done his utmost to

maintain peace, and he now prevented the Egyptians from marching into Asia Minor and adding the Pashalik of Adana to their dominions. The news of the defeat of Nisib arrived at Constantinople just as Sultan Mahmoud was lying unconscious on his death-bed. He died on July 1st, 1839, leaving his empire to Abdul Mejid, a lad of sixteen. At the same time it became known that Ahmed Pasha, the Turkish admiral, had treacherously handed over his fleet to Mehemet Ali. The new Sultan made overtures to Mehemet Ali, offering him the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, and the Government of Syria to his son Ibrahim, on condition that Syria should be restored to the Sultan ; but Mehemet Ali met this with a dilatory answer.

Palmerston and Egypt.

It appeared, however, that a peaceable settlement could be made. The Tsar informed Palmerston that he was ready to allow the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi to lapse, and act henceforth in Turkey in concert with the other Powers, and, if the Dardanelles were closed to the ships of all nations, to extend the same system to the Bosphorus, unless he acted as the mandatory of Europe. Palmerston also agreed to allow Mehemet Ali to retain the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, together with that of Acre, excluding the fortresses and the towns. But French feeling was opposed to this, and Soult shared the erroneous popular estimate of the invincibility of Mehemet Ali and Ibrahim. When the French pressed for further concessions, Palmerston withdrew those already made.

Guizot as Ambassador.

Guizot was now sent as ambassador to London, where he was extremely popular. Before he arrived, Soult had resigned, and Thiers taken his place, with Rémusat and Cousin as his colleagues. The first work of the Cabinet presided over by the historian of the Consulate and the Empire was to perform a great act of national expiation. A quarter of a century before, the Emperor Napoleon, after his defeat at Waterloo, had invoked the hospitality of the British people. This was refused him, and he was sent instead as a prisoner to St. Helena, where he spent six years of enforced idleness, until he died by a painful and lingering disease, which was caused, or aggravated, by the mode of life imposed upon him. His mother had been refused access to him ; he had not been allowed to communicate with his friends ; the title of Emperor, which had been acknowledged by Great Britain in the Congress of Chatillon, was now refused to him, and his unfortunately-chosen jailer inflicted upon him a number of petty insults, especially galling to a high, proud and sensitive spirit. A copy of Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, which Napoleon, as a soldier, desired to present

to the officers of a regiment quartered in the island, was retained in the private library of the Governor, because it was stamped with the Imperial Eagle on the fly-leaf. In this small persecution the British Government, with Lord Liverpool at its head, were the chief culprits, and had a willing instrument in the Secretary of the Colonies, Earl Bathurst. At the very time when Napoleon was dying, when he could not enter or leave his bath without assistance, Sir Hudson Lowe was warned to redouble his precautions, because vigorous measures were being made to effect the Emperor's escape.

Remains of Napoleon Transferred to Paris.

These things being so, conceive the surprise when, on May 12th, 1840, it was announced in the Press that the British Government had consented to allow the bones of the Emperor to be brought from St. Helena to Paris, that they might repose, according to his wish, on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he loved so well. The Prince de Joinville, son of Louis Philippe, accompanied by Bertrand, Gourgaud, Las Cases and Marchand, the companions of Naploeon's exile, sailed in a French frigate to bring home the ashes of the hero. When the coffin was opened, the faithful servants recognised the features of their master, as they saw him in his favourite dress, his heart, in a silver casket, resting between his knees. The coffin was covered with a velvet pall, decorated with golden bees, and the British Governor walked behind it bareheaded all the way from the grave to the coast. Some months afterwards, on December 15th, the remains were laid to rest under the dome of the Invalides, with every circumstance of military pomp and popular enthusiasm.

Louis Napoleon's Second Attempt.

One result of this act of reparation was to revive the hopes of Louis Napoleon, on whom it ought to have produced just the contrary effect. Embarked on an English vessel, he landed at Wimereux, near Boulogne, with about sixty followers, and attempted to obtain possession of the town and the garrison, but failed in both objects. In a short time he and his accomplices were arrested and the ship in which he had arrived was secured. On board was found a wardrobe of Napoleonic properties, a tame eagle, similar to that which had accompanied him to Strasbourg, typical of the glories of his uncle's empire. Decrees were found in his possession appointing Clauzel Commander-in-Chief and Thiers Prime Minister. Louis Napoleon was tried before the Chamber of Peers, condemned to imprisonment for life, and confined in the Castle of Ham, where he remained for nearly six years. He eventually escaped, with the help of Doctor Conneau, in the disguise of a workman named Badinguet, and again found an asylum in England.

EGYPT AND SYRIA

The Eastern difficulty still continued. On July 15th, 1840, a Convention was signed in London between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the Powers of the Quadruple Alliance, providing that, if Mehemet Ali would desist from his march on Constantinople, he should receive the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt, together with the administration for life of Southern Syria, with the title of Pasha of Acre and the command of the frontiers of that district. If he did not consent to these terms in ten days the offer of Syria and Egypt would be withdrawn, and if he continued to be obdurate for another ten days the whole offer would be null and void.

The Powers and Egypt.

Meanwhile, the action of the Allies under the Convention had begun. On August 11th Sir Charles Napier had appeared off Beirut and summoned Suleiman Pasha to evacuate the town and Syria. No shot, however, was fired, and the French Government pressed Mehemet Ali to moderate his terms. On September 17th Thiers wrote to Guizot in London that Mehemet Ali would accept the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt and the Pashalik of Syria for his son Ibrahim for life. However, on September 11th Napier had bombarded Beirut and had landed a Turkish force to act against Ibrahim. Four days later the Sultan declared Mehemet Ali deposed, a sentence which he treated with contempt. He did this in reliance on the assistance of France. Guizot informed the British Government that Mehemet Ali would never submit to deposition. Thiers was for heroic measures. He talked of sweeping away the treaties of Vienna and advancing the French frontiers to the Rhine. Military preparations were made, and a war between Great Britain and France seemed inevitable. Louis Philippe set himself to resist this policy, and Thiers resigned. He was succeeded by Marshal Soult, with Guizot as Foreign Secretary.

Allied Action in Syria.

However, the power of Mehemet Ali suddenly collapsed. When the combined fleets of Great Britain, Austria, and Turkey appeared off Beirut in August, the tribes of the Lebanon rose against Ibrahim, who was obliged to retire to the south, and on November 8th Acre surrendered to the allied fleet. On November 25th Napier sailed to Alexandria and induced Mehemet Ali to submit. Ibrahim received orders to evacuate Syria and, on January 10th, 1841, a joint note was presented to the Sultan, recommending that Mehemet Ali should receive the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt. The Porte endeavoured to procrastinate, but was compelled to give way. The solemn proclamation of the agreement at Alexandria, on June 10th, 1841, marked the close of a perilous phase of the Egyptian Question. By the Treaty of

The Treaty of London.

London, signed by the five Powers on July 13th, 1841, Mehemet Ali was secured in the possession of Egypt. It was also decided that the Porte had a right to close the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to warships of all nations, while the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were to remain open. France thus entered again into the circle of the European Concert, but her unwise diplomacy had ruined her ally and weakened her own prestige in Europe.

A United France.

The Ministry of October 19th, as it was called, was entirely of one mind with the King, and gave him valuable assistance both at home and abroad. It was loyally supported by the majority of the Chamber. The landed proprietors, the industrial magnates, and the heads of commerce, who composed the majority of the deputies, had no inclination either for war or for revolution. The Monarchy of July, which had nearly perished in the events of 1840, was destined to live for another eight years, with such apparent stability that it seemed unshakable at the very eve of its downfall.

The history of the eight years after 1840 may be divided into four periods. The first ends with the death of the Duc d'Orléans, the second with the formation of the *Entente Cordiale* with Great Britain, the third with its rupture, and the fourth with the Revolution of February. Guizot was now fifty-three years of age. In the days of the Empire and the Restoration he ranked as a Liberal, but the political ideas which he then held had crystallised into irrefragable dogma. He did not realise that since that time ideas had advanced, that a new conception of liberty had arisen, that the number of persons interested in politics had increased largely, and that new classes had awakened to the realities of political life. His creed was still based on the Charter of 1814, modified by the Revolution of July.

A Corrupt Government.

Unfortunately, the Government was corrupt. The authority rested on the party of the Centre, which was chiefly occupied in making money for its own advantage. The great railway scheme of 1842, conceived for patriotic purposes, for linking up Paris with Lille, Strasbourg, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes and Cherbourg, while it gave an impetus to social and political reforms, became, by leaving the constitution and the making of the railways in the hands of the great companies, nothing less than a large engine of political bribery.

Death of the Duc d'Orléans.

The elections of 1842 were conducted in an apathetic manner, and produced no radical change in the composition of the Chamber. But, on the very day (July 13th) that the elections took place the Duc d'Orléans was killed by a terrible accident. As he was

driving towards Neuilly, the horses ran away in the Champs Élysées. He jumped out of the carriage, was dashed to the ground, and died four hours afterwards from concussion of the brain. This was a serious blow to the dynasty, as the Comte de Paris, the heir to the throne, was only four years old, and Louis Philippe was seventy. The discussions on the Regency showed the divergency between the parties. They raised the question whether the Orléans Monarchy was to rest on the Revolution or the Charter; were the Chambers supreme, or did the Monarchy subsist independently of them? As this fundamental question could not be determined, a compromise became necessary. Thiers and Guizot insisted on the choice of the Duc de Nemours as Regent, as he seemed more able to resist the encroachments of the Left than the Duchesse d'Orléans, although she was very popular and likely to make liberal concessions. The Act of Regency strictly maintained the Salic and other laws, and therefore seemed to decide in favour of the *Charte*.

Duc d'Aumale's Military Glory.

Thiers now devoted himself to writing his history of the Consulate and the Empire and to a large extent retired from politics, while Guizot took the opportunity of strengthening his position. In the meantime the House of Orléans received illumination from the military glory of the Duc d'Aumale. In the war against Abd-el-Kader in Algiers, while marching at the head of a flying squadron of cavalry, he suddenly came upon the *smala*, or travelling-camp, of the Emir at a little distance. With energy and dash he attacked, without waiting for his infantry, gained a complete victory, and brought back his prisoners and booty in triumph to Algiers, Abd-el-Kader escaping with difficulty. The brilliancy of this feat of arms has rarely been surpassed.

The Question of Queen Isabella's Marriage.

Guizot now set himself to form a closer connection with Great Britain, and chose, as an occasion for this, the opportunity of forcing a bargain about the Spanish marriages. The marriage of Queen Isabella of Spain was obviously a matter of more than domestic interest. Queen Cristina, her mother, devoted to French interests, was prepared to allow the marriage of her two daughters, Queen Isabella and the Infanta, Maria Louisa Fernanda, to the two sons of Louis Philippe, the Duc d'Aumale and the Duc de Montpensier. Another candidate for the hand of Queen Isabella was Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the cousin of Queen Victoria and her husband. The British Government objected to the French alliances, which were withdrawn simultaneously with the withdrawal of the proposal of Prince Leopold. It was now suggested by Guizot that the choice of Queen Isabella's husband might be postponed

till the Duc de Montpensier should marry the Infanta. This was again rejected by Palmerston.

The *Entente Cordiale* of 1843.

In September, 1843, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu, and were enthusiastically received at Tréport. On September 2nd there was a banquet in the château; on the 4th a fête-champêtre on Mont d'Alcans in the forest; on the 5th a review; and on the 7th they returned to England. During their visit it was agreed that all candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain should be excluded, except such as belonged to the Spanish-Bourbon line, and that there should be no talk of Montpensier marrying her sister until the Queen of Spain was married and had a child. This visit established the *Entente Cordiale*—the cordial understanding between France and Great Britain. The sojourn at Eu and the announcement of the *Entente Cordiale* resounded through France like a flourish of trumpets.

Trouble over Tahiti.

This arrangement, however, did not last long. Thiers had nothing but sarcasm for the *Entente Cordiale*, and circumstances soon arose which strained it to breaking point. In September, 1842, a French admiral, who had been instructed to occupy the Marquesas Islands, had taken upon himself to sign a treaty with Pomare, Queen of Tahiti, which placed Tahiti in the position of a State protected by France. At this moment Pritchard, a missionary and a consul, who advised the Queen on political matters, was absent, but on his return he pressed the Queen to hoist the flag of independence and throw off the French yoke. When the admiral returned, in November, 1843, he found that this had been done, and in March, 1844, ravaged the island and expelled Pritchard. The British made a serious remonstrance. The Opposition in the French Chambers clamoured for the recognition of the admiral's action, the annexation of Tahiti, and the rejection of foreign interference. But Louis Philippe said that a petty quarrel of this kind was not worth a war with Great Britain, while Guizot disavowed the French admiral and his project of annexation, and made a kind of reparation for the injury done to Pritchard. On the other hand, the British refused to replace Pritchard in Tahiti, and he was obliged to content himself with an indemnity in money.

Abd-el-Kader Reappears

Before this matter was settled, another difficulty arose about Morocco. Abd-el-Kader, after his flight from his own country, had taken refuge with Abdur Rahman, Sultan of Morocco. The Moroccans took up arms against the French, but were completely defeated at the Battle of the River Isly on August 14th, 1844. The

French demanded a payment of money from the Sultan and the surrender of Abd-el-Kader. The latter was compelled to leave Morocco, but the French refrained from exacting a cession of territory or the payment of an indemnity. On the other hand, Great Britain officially recognised the definite establishment of France in Algiers.

Thiers as Pro-Briton.

The year 1845 witnessed the continuance of the struggle between Guizot and Thiers. The questions of Tahiti and Morocco were made grounds for a charge of subserviency towards Great Britain. This was accentuated by a return visit of Louis Philippe to Windsor, in which Guizot accompanied him. Thiers also demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits, who, although legally subject to expulsion, were tolerated in Paris, and were employed by the richer classes in the education of their children.

The comparatively uneventful session of 1846 was marked by the cruelties of the Austrian Government in Galicia, about which France did not remonstrate, and by the escape of Prince Napoleon from the fortress of Ham, to which we have already referred. The Chamber was dissolved, and the new elections gave a substantial majority to the Ministry.

The Spread of Democracy.

But, under these outward signs of peace, a surging democratic spirit was exciting movements in every part of Europe. In England Palmerston and the Whigs were triumphantly returned to power in June; in Switzerland the Federal Council was captured by the Radicals; and Germany was excited about the question of Schleswig-Holstein. The election of Pio Nono to the Papacy stirred the forces of liberation in Italy. Suffering nationalities began to make their claims heard in Austria, Denmark and Poland. The whole of Europe was in a state of restlessness and ferment. Guizot chose this moment to make a bid for popularity by attempting to establish a French dynasty in Spain. On October 10th it was announced that Queen Isabella of Spain would marry her cousin, Don Francis of Assisi, and that, on the same day, her sister would marry the Duc de Montpensier.

Queen Victoria on the Spanish Marriages.

It was commonly believed that Don Francis was incapable of becoming a father, and that therefore one day the Crown of Spain would fall to the children of Montpensier. Queen Victoria and Lord Palmerston were furious at this breach of faith, and the Queen expressed herself most strongly about it in her correspondence. She wrote to the King of the Belgians: "This unfortunate Spanish affair has gone on heedlessly, and our *entente* was entirely thrown away, and we feel deeply the ingratitude shown; for, without boasting, I must say that they never had truer friends than we

are, and who always stood by them. How can we ever feel at our ease with Louis Philippe again? Guizot's conduct is beyond all belief shameful, and so shabbily dishonest. Molé and Thiers both say he cannot stand." Indeed, Guizot's conduct was condemned by the whole of Europe, and France felt herself without an ally.

Attempts to Assassinate Louis Philippe.

Since the death of his eldest son Louis Philippe had lost faith in his dynasty. The Ministerial majority was largely under the suspicion of corruption and commanded little confidence; whereas the Opposition, led by men like Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, who had studied the principles of democracy and were now learning those of Socialism from Louis Blanc, was regarded as the true representation of the people. The comic journals, such as the *Charivari*, and a large section of the daily Press served to undermine the authority of Parliament. The King was further distressed by another attempt at assassination made upon him in the forest of Fontainebleau, on April 16th, 1846, and when he showed himself on the balcony of the Tuileries on July 29th, in the same year—the anniversary of 1830—two shots were fired at him by a half-crazy workman. Louis Philippe had endeavoured to protect his dynasty by surrounding Paris with useless fortifications, and gradually centralising the powers of Government. The money thus spent might have connected the capital with the provinces by a network of railways. The Revolution of February showed how inadequate these precautions were, and how idle is all such apparatus of artificial defence. The only true safeguard for a throne lies in the love and confidence of the people.

"France is Bored."

Lamartine once said in the Chamber, "*La France s'ennuie*" ("France is bored"). She had ceased to care for a dynasty which gave her neither the glory of the Empire nor the freedom of a Republic. A bad harvest increased the prices of all articles of food and caused misery and distress among the poorer people, while the demoralisation of the governing classes created general disgust. This was placed in the clearest light by Émile de Girardin in the *Presse*. An attempt was made to prosecute him before the House of Peers, but the consent of the Chamber to this course was not obtained. The Opposition was jubilant. The sadness of the King was deepened by the death of Princess Adelaide, his beloved sister, who had been his true and faithful adviser, the *confidante* of his policy.

If "coming events cast their shadows before," everything indicated that a tempest was at hand.

CHAPTER III

THE END OF POLAND

By the fall of Napoleon Poland lost the best opportunity she ever had of recovering her independence. At the date of the Treaty of Vienna Russia had in her hands nearly nine-tenths of the original territory of Poland. Alexander I. was anxious, at this time, to make a new kingdom of Poland under Russian suzerainty, and to incorporate in it a large portion of the Polish territory over which he ruled. But the Congress would not allow this. That Napoleon had desired it was sufficient reason for the statesmen of Europe to oppose it. Therefore parts of Poland were given back to Prussia and Austria, and the Polish kingdom, thus weakened, lost all chance of being able to hold its own against the preponderance of Russia.

The Division of Poland.

In November, 1815, Alexander I. made his State entry into Warsaw, and granted a Constitution, which was mainly the work of Prince Adam Czartoryski, but which had been modified by the advice of Novolsiltzov. By this the Catholic religion was not recognised as the religion of the country. It was placed on an equal footing with other religions, but enjoyed the special protection of the Government. The Polish Crown was made hereditary in the Russian Imperial family, the Tsar having the power of administering the country, of convoking and dismissing the Diet, and of accepting or rejecting its resolutions. He was represented in the country by a Viceroy and a Council of State. The Diet consisted of two Chambers, which met every two years for a session of thirty days. The members of the Senate were appointed for life by the Crown, while the Lower House was chosen for six years by direct election under a restricted franchise. The sittings of the Diet were made public, the voting was open, and a simple majority was decisive. Five Ministers formed an Executive Council presided over by the Viceroy. Foreign policy was entrusted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at St. Petersburg, and personal liberty, freedom of religious belief, and freedom of the Press were guaranteed. The Jews, however, were excluded from all political privileges.

The Polish Crown Goes to Russia.

This Constitution was progressive and liberal, and tended to

propitiate the Polish nobility and nationality, as it established the Polish language and restricted public employment to Poles. It worked out, however, somewhat differently from what was expected. During the fifteen years of the existence of the kingdom no budget was ever submitted to the Diet for ratification, and of seven Diets which ought to have met during that time only four were held.

Polish Patriotic Society.

Under Alexander Poland had been, in the main, well governed. He established a national bank, constructed roads, favoured industry and the development of science and literature. The nobles and peasants had become friends, and a middle class had grown up. But the Poles are conspirators by nature, and Poland was honeycombed by secret associations. One of the most important of these was the Patriotic Society, founded in 1821, with the object of regaining the independence of Poland. It was governed by a central committee under Lukasinski, and was divided into seven provinces: Poland, Lithuania, Volhynia, Posen, Galicia, Cracow, and the Polish Army. In 1822 Lukasinski and his friends were arrested. He was imprisoned for thirty-six years and died in the fortress of Schlüsselburg in 1868. On June 14th, 1825, Alexander said good-bye to the kingdom of Poland for the last time, and Nicholas, at his accession, promised that his rule should be a continuance of that of Alexander. He said, "The Constitution which he gave you will remain unchanged. I promise and swear before God that I will maintain the Act of Constitution, and make every effort to ensure its being preserved." Things, however, turned out very differently. The Patriotic Society was attacked, and in the course of the accompanying proceedings a deep antagonism between the nobles and the Emperor was disclosed. However, after the Turkish War and the Peace of Adrianople, Nicholas came to Warsaw on May 17th, 1829, to celebrate his coronation, along with his son, afterwards Alexander II. The Tsar put the crown on his own head, after he had received it from the hands of the Primate. He knelt down and read the oath of the Constitution in French. He opened the sittings of the fourth and last Diet on June 28th.

A Successful Insurrection.

The Patriotic Society disappeared, and its place was taken by a new secret society, which bore the character of a military conspiracy. The number of conspirators at first grew slowly, but the Revolution of July gave a powerful stimulus to the movement. The outbreak took place at Warsaw on the evening of November 29th, an attack being made on the Belvedere Palace, in which Prince Constantine—the Tsar's brother—lived, and also

on the barracks of the Russian cavalry. Both assaults were unsuccessful. Constantine could easily have stifled the movement, but his presence of mind deserted him, and he failed to take any decided action. He said he desired to be passive, and left the pacification of the capital to the Poles themselves. Consequently the movement spread, first over Warsaw, and afterwards over the whole country. Constantine left Warsaw and then Poland, accompanied by all the Russian officials. In eight days the Revolution was complete: the army, munitions of war, and public treasury were in the hands of the Poles. But dissension, the curse of Poland, as it had been of Greece, soon made itself felt. A party of Conservative aristocrats under Lubecki were entrusted with a reform of the Constitution in the spirit of the Paris Charter, while men of more ardent temperament would not be satisfied with anything short of absolute independence.

The Poles Celebrate their Liberty.

On December 5th Chlopicki declared himself Dictator, until the meeting of the Extraordinary Diet. He was an able soldier, but wanting in the qualities necessary for a revolutionary leader. He did not believe in the success of the insurrection, and placed his sole hope in negotiations. If the Poles had determined to fight at once they had a good chance of success, as they could command an army of 80,000 men, while the Russians had not so many. The best course would have been to march into Lithuania with full strength, take up and incorporate the Lithuanian army, occupy Wilna, and engage each corps of the Russians as it advanced. Chlopicki rejected this plan, and resolved to act entirely on the defensive. The Extraordinary Diet met on December 18th. It solemnly announced the deposition of Nicholas and the exclusion of the Romanovs from the throne. This was a foolish step, because it challenged Russia to fight, and made it difficult for other Powers to interfere. The cloud of Imperial vengeance was gradually forming, and whilst the Poles, with characteristic frivolity, were celebrating the recovery of their liberty with songs and dances, Nicholas was slowly collecting an army of 120,000 men and 400 cannon, under the command of Diebich and Toll, for the invasion of the country.

The Tsar Demands Surrender.

The Diet drew up a manifesto setting forth the grievances of Poland against Russia, and sent two emissaries to the Tsar to present their demands. These were strict adherence to the Constitution, the withdrawal of Russian troops, and the union of the former provinces of Poland to the kingdom. Nicholas replied by commanding unconditional surrender. On January 17th, 1831, Chlopicki laid down his office and was succeeded by

Prince Michael Radziwill, assisted by a Council which numbered Adam Czartoryski and Lelewel among its members. It was now that the Diet pronounced the dethronement of the House of Romanov and its desire for a Constitutional Monarchy.

The Poles Victorious.

In February, 1831, Diebich entered Poland with an army of 114,000 men and 336 guns, and marched straight to Warsaw. The Poles bore themselves bravely in the retreat. The first battle, in which Chlopicki and Radziwill commanded, resulted in favour of the Poles. Skrynecki was now appointed Commander-in-Chief, and gained considerable success, cutting to pieces the Russian corps of General Rosen. With a little more energy he might have had the whole army of Diebich at his mercy. This was the culminating point of the Revolution. A decisive blow might have been struck at the Russian army, and this would have brought about the intervention of Europe.

Lost Opportunities.

Nicholas now seized the opportunity to lighten the burden of the peasants in the provinces over which he had authority. He thus set the peasantry against the nobles, and broke up the unity of the Polish people. Opportunity was frittered away in fruitless risings. In April Dwernicki was driven across the Austrian frontier, where he capitulated with 6,000 men. An attempt was made to attack the Russian generals, who were acting under the Grand Duke Michael, to cut them to pieces, and, by taking up a position upon the Bug, to intercept the communication of Diebich with his own country and with Prussia. Skrynecki was at the head of the movement, and on May 17th overtook the Russian generals with a superior force. The attack was delayed, the Russians retreated, and Skrynecki's army was weakened by sending 12,000 men into Lithuania.

The Poles Crushed.

Diebich now hurried up, and the Battle of Ostrolenka was fought on May 26th, when the Poles suffered a crushing defeat, which was the beginning of the end. For a moment, however, the patriots were supported by a mightier hand than their own. On June 11th Diebich died of cholera, at that time a strange and unknown disease. The Grand Duke Constantine and Clausewitz, the Chief of his Staff, also fell victims to the same scourge. The place of Diebich was taken by Paskevich, who bore the title of Erivanski from his capture of that fortress. The Prussians allowed him to march through their territory, making common cause with the Russians for the preservation of their Polish territory. He advanced against Warsaw with 78,000 men, the Poles having only 37,000 men and 130 guns to defend the city. The Russians took the redoubt of Vola after a stubborn defence and on September

8th Paskevich entered the capital. Before the end of October the whole country was in the hands of Nicholas, and the constitutional kingdom of Poland had ceased to exist. The last defenders of their country were disarmed on Prussian soil. Thousands of Polish patriots, notwithstanding the clemency of the Tsar, wandered as exiles into France, England, Switzerland, and other countries, eating the bread of affliction upon a foreign soil, and pouring the story of their country's woes into the ears of a sympathetic Europe, which had not yet lost its faith in liberty. At the same time the mines and highlands of Siberia were overrun with Polish exiles.

The Russianising of Poland.

The revolutionary party in Poland had, from the very first, applied to the European Powers, which had guaranteed the independence of the kingdom of Poland at the Congress of Vienna, to assist them either by intervention or mediation. Memoirs were sent to Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and London, but nowhere did they find support. Prussia and Austria were actually hostile, and only after the insurrection did the Governments of London and Paris make representations to St. Petersburg. These, naturally, had no effect. Indeed, the Governments were told to mind their own business. In February, 1832, Paskevich was appointed viceroy with unlimited powers, receiving the title of Prince of Warsaw. The Constitution was replaced by an organic statute, which contained certain provisions for autonomy, but they remained a dead letter and were never carried into effect. The Polish army was incorporated in the Russian, the committees of Warsaw and Wilna were dissolved, all the principal posts in the Government were filled by Russians, and the Russian language was made compulsory for all important purposes. Paskevich ruled the country with an iron hand till his death in 1856. The failure of the Poles to achieve independence was due, not so much to the strength of Russia, as to their own inherent weakness and the jealousies by which they were rent asunder.

CHAPTER IV

TROUBLE IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Don Carlos Asserts Himself.

WE have seen in a previous chapter that disputes arose in Spain as to whether the law restricting succession to the male line should prevail or not. The King, it will be remembered, published on March 29th, 1830, the Pragmatic Sanction, or law of 1789, which opened the succession to women; and on October 10th a daughter was born, who received the name of Maria Isabella. She was at once proclaimed Princess of Asturias, which implied that she was heiress to the throne. Don Carlos, the brother of the King, was furious at this, and struggles ensued between him and Queen Cristina concerning the maintenance of the law of 1789. Cristina had not many adherents in the Ministry, because Calomarde, the Prime Minister, was a strong Conservative and belonged to the party of the Apostolicals, but she was very popular with the army. In September, 1832, the King became dangerously ill, and, by various influences, was induced to withdraw the Pragmatic Sanction which he had promulgated in 1830. When, however, he unexpectedly recovered, the revocation of the law was annulled and the law of 1789 was published a second time. Calomarde was dismissed from his office and banished the Court, and all the Ministers, with the exception of Ballesteros, shared his fall.

Cristinos and Carlists.

Cristina found herself at the head of a powerful party, which included all friends of constitutional government, enlightenment and intellectual freedom. Spain took her part in that great conflict of principles which was soon to be fought out in every quarter of Europe. The two principles were represented by the antagonistic parties of the Cristinos and Carlists. At the beginning of October, 1832, the Queen was appointed Regent during the illness of the King, and Zea Bermudez, Spanish Ambassador in London, was made Prime Minister in place of Calomarde. He announced, as the basis of his policy, neutrality abroad, moderate reform at home, and the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction. At the close of the year the King solemnly declared before the notables of the kingdom that his letter of September 19th, which revoked the Pragmatic Sanction, had been extorted from him by the devices of wicked men, and he now pronounced it null and

void. On January 4th, 1833, Ferdinand resumed the reins of government and wrote a letter to the Queen, praising the care and wisdom with which she had conducted affairs and assuring her of his entire confidence.

Death of Ferdinand.

The resumption of the Government by the King for a time kept the extreme Carlists in check, because they knew that Don Carlos was loyally disposed towards his brother. The consequence was that the Apostolical army refused to take the field, and the King's confessor fled to Portugal. The Prince of Beira, the chief mover of the revolt, was ordered to join his brother, Dom Miguel, in the same country, and Don Carlos and his wife went with him. Spain was thus relieved of the presence of the most inflammatory elements. The Cortes being assembled in the ancient manner in June, an oath was taken recognising Isabella as heir to the throne; against this Don Carlos formally protested. Not long after this, on September 29th, 1833, King Ferdinand died suddenly, without having received the consolations of that religion for which he had suffered so much. Spain never had a worse ruler; he left his people without energy, without prosperity, a prey to civil war, a scorn and mockery to the world. He had returned to his country welcomed by the blessings of his subjects; he sank into his grave amid their curses.

The Development of the Carlist Insurrection.

After the death of Ferdinand, we must consider the history of Spain, for the next six years, under two aspects—the struggle of internal parties and the Carlist war. With regard to the former aspect, the Regency of the Queen may be divided into three periods —the Ministries of Martinez and Torreno (1834–35), which were marked by the Constitutional charter called *Estatuto Real;* the second period (1836–37), containing the Radical Ministries of Mendizabal and Calatrava, and ending with the Constitution of 1837; the third period (1838–40), characterised by more moderate principles and ending with the abdication of Queen Cristina. The Carlist war may also be divided into three periods. In the first (1833–36), the two parties were organising their forces and fortifying their territory; in the second (1836–37) the Carlists took the offensive and at one time nearly gained the victory; in the third, which came to an end in 1841, the Carlists were weakened by treason and discouraged by the indifference of their partisans.

Queen Cristina's first idea was to preserve Bermudez in power. Don Carlos, who had assumed the title of Charles V., was declared a usurper and his property was confiscated. But Russia, Prussia and Austria, the three northern Powers, refused to recognise Queen Isabella, and the Carlist insurrection spread in the north

of Spain under Zumalacarregui. Cristina therefore thought it advisable to adopt a more decidedly Liberal policy, and made Martinez de la Rosa Prime Minister. On April 15th a treaty was signed between Great Britain, Portugal and Spain, which secured the aid of the first-named both for Spain and Portugal on the constitutional side. This treaty was acceded to by France, and thus was formed the so-called Quadruple Alliance, which stood opposed to the policy of the three northern Powers. It did not mean much, because Great Britain refused to interfere or to allow France to do so. France, however, lent an Algerian legion, and a British legion was formed, which gave considerable assistance against the Carlists. In June, 1835, Zumalacarregui died. He had been instructed to attack Bilbao, in order to provide a more secure basis for the Carlist Government, and did so against his better judgment. He was wounded in the siege, and died from bad medical treatment. In July the siege was raised. The success of the Cristinos was largely due to General Espartero, who afterwards wielded great influence in the affairs of his country.

The *Estatuto Real.*

In April, 1834, Martinez de la Rosa had proclaimed a Constitution, called the *Estatuto Real*, resembling the French *Charte* of 1814. It established a Parliament consisting of two Chambers or *Estamentos*, the House of Proceres, composed of grandees, bishops, and high officers of state, nominated by the King for life, and the Lower House of Procuradores, chosen out of the propertied classes by double election. This did not satisfy the Liberals, and the Radicals still less, so, on June 7th, 1835, Martinez de la Rosa resigned his position and Torreno took his place. He appointed, as Minister of Finance, Don Juan Alvarez de Mendizabal, a man of remarkable energy, who came to Madrid in 1825 from exile in England. He was now practically Prime Minister, and endeavoured to pacify the Revolution by satisfying some aspirations of the Radical party, by granting pardon to the insurgents, and by reforming the administration. He extinguished a number of religious houses and declared their property for sale. Those who purchased this property naturally became supporters of Isabella, because Don Carlos did not recognise the validity of the sale. He also strengthened the connection between Spain and Great Britain, his exile in England having made him a warm admirer of the country. These measures produced a strong opposition, and Mendizabal fell before the storm. His place was taken by Isturiz, a statesman of more moderate complexion.

The new Minister was violently attacked by the Progressives, and Aragon, Estremadura and Andalusia proclaimed the Con-

stitution of 1812. On August 3rd, an insurrection broke out in Madrid, and Isturiz began to look towards the intervention of France. This was followed by what is known as the Revolution of La Granja, a pleasant country residence, in which the Court were accustomed to pass the summer months. In the night of August 12th, 1836, the garrison marched up to the palace in which Cristina was staying with her favourite Muñoz, calling out: "Long live the Constitution of 1812! Long live the Queen!" Cristina received a deputation of the rioters, and consented to the publication of the Constitution of Cadiz. On the following day she appointed Calatrava Prime Minister, and a few days later made a solemn entry into her faithful city of Madrid, accompanied by the "Heroes of La Granja," and the shouts of a democratic mob.

The New Constitution.

The Cortes met on October 24th, 1836, to draw up a new Constitution. The code of Cadiz was impossible, but was modified by Calatrava into a more reasonable shape. Two Chambers were formed instead of one, the Crown was given an absolute veto, and the suffrage was raised. It was, however, provided that, if the Sovereign should neglect to summon the Cortes before December 1st, they might meet of themselves. The Upper Chamber also received an elective character. The new Constitution, which was produced under the influence of the British Reform Bill of 1832, did not satisfy either the Moderates or the Radicals. It was, however, for a long time the banner under which the advanced Liberals fought, and had the advantage of asserting the constitutional principle and destroying the exaggerated reverence felt for the Constitution of 1812.

Progress of the Carlists.

The state of confusion in the country had favoured the cause of the Carlists. A new leader appeared in the person of Ramon Cabrera, a man of remarkable military capacity. Bilbao was besieged a second time and again relieved by Espartero. The British Government sent the Regent half a million for military expenses, and the British legion did good work. On the other hand, the northern Powers sent assistance to Don Carlos. Espartero became Prime Minister on August 18th, 1837, following upon a revolt of the soldiers against the Government of Calatrava. The cause of Don Carlos began to fail, in consequence of negotiations between him and the Regent with reference to a possible marriage which might unite the two parties. The year 1838 passed in comparative quiet, marked only by the rise of Narvaez as a rival to Espartero, and the following year was fatal to the Carlist cause. General Maroto, who commanded the Carlist army, became anxious

for peace, partly from weariness of the war and partly from a growing dislike to the personality of Don Carlos himself. Great Britain and France also exerted themselves to bring about a settlement, and an agreement was at last signed between Espartero and Maroto at Vergara, on August 31st, 1839. Espartero undertook to recommend to the Cortes the confirmation of the *fueros*, or local liberties of Catalonia and the Basque Provinces, while the Carlists who submitted were to be confirmed in their military rank. Don Carlos declined to accept the agreement and retired to France. He attempted no resistance, although for years to come the party which supported him continued to be powerful. The departure of Don Carlos from the scene on June 6th, 1841, terminated the struggle which had stained the Peninsula with blood for seven years.

Abdication of Queen Cristina.

The close of the Carlist war brought about other changes of a still more important character. Espartero, whose services to his country it was impossible to exaggerate, was created Duke of Vittoria. He was a decided Progressive, whereas Cristina was inclined to favour the Moderates, although she vacillated between the two parties. The question in dispute between them at this time was the preservation of local government in the communes. This was threatened by a law of the *Ayuntamiento*, which had passed the communes and was now awaiting the confirmation of the Sovereign. It was violently opposed by the Aragonese, who were passionately in favour of the local freedom which had appeared in their province at an early date. Espartero entreated the Regent not to sign this law, but she was deaf to his advice. He therefore resigned, and an insurrection broke out in Barcelona on July 18th. Cristina temporarily appointed a Progressive Ministry, but as soon as she found herself safe in Valencia replaced it by one of Moderates. Upon this revolution burst forth in Madrid, and Cristina recalled Espartero as Prime Minister. Weary of these attacks, and unable to control the warring forces which assailed her, she abdicated and retired to France. On September 16th, 1840, Espartero entered Madrid in triumph, the popular hero of the country. Cristina was not without her merits, her chief faults being vacillation and apparent insincerity. Really moderate in her views, she gave way to the pressure of the Progressives, only to return to her former position when she found the opportunity. She was a patron of literature and art, and the intellectual forces of the country flourished under her rule.

Espartero governed Spain from October, 1840, to June, 1843. His defects were that he was a soldier and inclined to the use of

military measures, and that his ambition grew as his power increased. He had to contend against the Moderates, against the machinations of Cristina, and against the members of his own party who were jealous of him. He was consistently supported by the British Government. His consecration as Regent in May, 1841, inflamed the jealousy against him. The appointment of Argüelles as guardian to Queen Isabella gave Cristina another opportunity for mischief. Conspiracies were formed in Pamplona and Madrid, and an attack was made upon the palace with the object of gaining possession of the Queen, who was declared to be the prisoner of the Esparteristos. On July 13th, 1842, a revolt broke out in Barcelona and the captain-general was driven from the town. The city was eventually bombarded by Espartero and 400 houses were burned down. This severity was never forgiven. Espartero tried more and more to rule by force, and steadily lost the confidence of the country. It is useless for a great man to raise a fabric of good government upon a foundation which is not strong enough to support it. Espartero found a powerful rival in Narvaez, while the name of Prim was also heard for the first time as that of a discontented Liberal.

Espartero takes Refuge in England.

The political cohesion of Spain had always been weak, and discontented politicians were in the habit of raising the standard of rebellion as a means of enforcing their views. Alicante, Cartagena, Murcia, Valladolid and Seville all declared against Espartero, and on June 27th, 1843, Narvaez offered to lead the Valencians against the ruthless punisher of Barcelona. Espartero left Madrid and Narvaez entered it. The former might have resisted with success, but his troops deserted him and Cadiz declared against him. He therefore embarked on an English vessel and sought refuge in the country which had long been his best friend.

The Iron Rule of Narvaez.

The leader of the Moderates from 1843 to 1845 was General Narvaez, a dictator by nature, so harsh and cruel in his methods that he was said never to leave alive any enemy who fell into his hands. Reforms were abrogated. The Constitution of 1837 was set aside, and a new arrangement was promulgated on May 23rd, 1845. In this the Crown acquired the power of nominating the Cortes and the right of spontaneous meeting was taken away from the Chambers. Offences against the Press law were no longer subject to the verdict of a jury. In 1843 Queen Isabella was declared by the Cortes to have attained her majority, although she was only thirteen years of age. She appointed Olozaga, a Professor, as Prime Minister, but his power only lasted for six days, and he was succeeded by Bravo, a revolutionist, who promptly

declared the whole of Spain to be in a state of siege, crushed the Press and imprisoned Progressive Deputies. On May 2nd, 1844, Narvaez assumed the reins of office, and the triumph of the reaction was complete. It is to the credit of Narvaez that he did not sully his reputation by complicity in the Spanish marriages, but resigned rather than have anything to do with so disgraceful a transaction. At the time of the double marriage, which took place on October 10th, 1846, Isturiz, a Conservative, was Prime Minister. Narvaez was again recalled to power in October, 1847.

Portugal's Charter.

The history of Portugal during this period has a strange similarity to that of Spain, except that in Portugal Great Britain was the predominating influence and in Spain France. We find the same division of parties, the same incapacity of the Sovereign, and the same palace intrigues. On March 6th, 1826, John VI. was taken suddenly ill, and in four days died, not without suspicion of poison. A decree named the Infanta, Isabel Maria, Regent until the legitimate Sovereign should issue instructions. The Regency then acknowledged Pedro IV. as King, but it was regarded as impossible that such a man should be Emperor of Brazil and King of Portugal, and it was assumed that he would abdicate in favour of his brother. But this was not his view, and he adopted a line of conduct characteristic of his temper and disposition. He drew up a Constitution for Portugal, in the shape of a Charter, and then abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter Donna Maria da Gloria, a child of seven years old, on the condition that she should take an oath to preserve the Charter. This was done, and Dom Miguel, a man of twenty-five, was recognised as Regent on condition that he married his niece, a girl of seven. The Charter was ill received in Portugal, but General Saldanha, who was a strong Liberal, declared that unless the Charter were accepted he would march to Lisbon with his troops. The Regency yielded, the Charter was published, and the oath was taken to it.

Dom Miguel's Claims.

Saldanha now became head of a Liberal Ministry, but in various parts of Portugal Dom Miguel was proclaimed King by the reactionaries, and the British Cabinet, which theoretically wished the Portuguese to choose their own form of government, was forced to send 5,000 men to Portugal, under General Clinton, to restore order. In March, 1827, the Charter, supported by British bayonets, had been accepted throughout Portugal, but it was not popular. Dom Miguel, who was residing at Vienna, under the eye of Metternich, took the oath to the Charter on October 4th, and on October 29th became engaged to his niece. But he did not regard the oath as binding on his conscience. He landed at

Lisbon on February 23rd, 1828, as Regent and upholder of the Charter, but Queen Carlota had no intention that he should retain this position. The Prince, when crowned, was the idol of the populace. He was received at Lisbon with enthusiasm, and entered the capital amid cries of "*Viva Dom Miguel, Rei Absoluto!*" However, on February 26th, he publicly accepted the Regency and took the oath to the Charter, acting, however, as constitutional king. On March 14th the Chambers were dissolved, and were not again summoned, and on April 2nd the British troops were recalled by Wellington. In May Miguel summoned the old Cortes of Three Estates, which met accordingly on June 23rd, and offered him the crown. He assumed the title of King, and, on July 7th, took the oath before the Cortes. There was some opposition in Oporto, but otherwise the new king was received with acclamation. Palmella and Saldanha fled to London, and the army was broken up. Donna Maria also went to London, but Wellington refused to acknowledge her as Sovereign, although he treated her with all due respect as Queen.

Trouble in the Azores.

There was now a reign of terror in the country, every effort being made to extirpate the Liberals. Great Britain's policy of non-intervention was followed by Austria and France. Dom Pedro was told that his abdication was definite, and that he could not place Donna Maria on the throne of Portugal except by war. On August 29th, 1829, Donna Maria returned to Brazil. The scene now shifts to the Azores, and especially to the island of Terceira. In the spring of 1829 the Azores had declared themselves Miguelists, the garrison of Angra in Terceira alone remaining faithful to the Liberal cause. Here Maria II. was recognised as Queen, and Terceira became the centre of resistance to the Miguelist Government. Palmella and Saldanha determined to take advantage of this, and, at the end of 1828, they set out for Terceira with a strong Portuguese force. They were, however, intercepted by a British squadron and forced to take refuge in France. Troops, however, gradually dribbled in, and Miguel sent an expedition to occupy the island, but it was driven back with disaster. Palmella came from London to Terceira and there established a Government in the name of Maria II.

Reign of Terror in Portugal.

The Revolution of 1830, however, wrought a great change. Lord Palmerston had become Foreign Minister of England, Queen Carlota died, and the reign of terror in Portugal attained its height. The French sent a squadron to Lisbon to avenge the treatment of two French residents. On April 7th, 1831, Dom Pedro resigned the Empire of Brazil and left his son Pedro II., a boy of six

years old, as Emperor in his stead. Pedro II. was declared of age in 1840, and crowned on July 18th, 1841. He proved to be a very remarkable man, and was well known throughout Europe.

Dom Pedro Invades Portugal.

In the meantime, Dom Pedro and his daughter Donna Maria settled in London, where they were joined by Palmella. He was well received by the Liberal Ministry. He then proceeded to France, where Louis Philippe gave him the Château of Meudon for a residence. In February, 1832, he sailed for the Azores and established the government there, in which he was supreme. He had as ministers Palmella, Silveira and Freire, Villa Flor was general-in-chief, and Sartorius admiral. Pedro was so elated with success that he determined to attack Portugal. He got possession of Oporto, but the country remained faithful to Miguel, and Pedro was besieged by a vastly superior force. After holding out with difficulty for a year, he was joined by an Englishman, Captain Charles Napier, who landed on June 7th, 1833. He brought with him five ships, four hundred mercenaries, and a sum of £18,000. Dom Pedro received them coldly, as he had ceased to have confidence in Palmella. Napier, however, determined to attack Lisbon. It was necessary first to destroy the Miguelist fleet, which he found off Cape St. Vincent. The battle began at four in the afternoon, and in two hours the fleet of Dom Miguel was entirely destroyed. After considerable fighting, Dom Pedro entered Lisbon on July 28th, 1833, Miguel being in Oporto. Miguel ultimately agreed to retire from Portugal, and was offered an income of £1,500 a year, which he refused to accept, dying in exile in 1866.

Portugal under Queen Maria II.

In September, 1834, Dom Pedro died. He was only thirty-six years old, but had crowded many adventures into his short life. His minister, Silveira, had governed the country in accordance with Liberal views. Titles were abolished, hereditary rights and privileges were swept away, monasteries and convents were closed, monopolies were suppressed. Feudal Portugal disappeared, and Maria II. reigned over a liberated country. She first married the Duke of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugène Beauharnais, but he died after a few months. Her second husband was Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, nephew of King Leopold of Belgium. During the reign of Maria II. the country was divided into three parties —the Constitutional party, who supported the Charter; the Septembrists, a democratic party; and the Miguelists. The Queen at the time of her second marriage was only seventeen years of age, and her husband only twenty.

"REVOLT OF THE MARSHALS"

The British Restore Order.

It was difficult to maintain the authority of the Crown in the strife of factions. In the first two years of her rule she had a Constitutional Ministry, led by Palmella, Saldanha and Terceira; but in September, 1836, the Septembrists gained the upper hand. They suppressed the Charter and forced the Queen to take an oath to the Charter of 1822. The year 1837 witnessed an insurrection in favour of the Charter under Saldanha and Terceira, known as the " Revolt of the Marshals." This was put down by the Government and the two marshals went into exile. Sâ-da-Bandeira had been Prime Minister from 1836 to 1839, and was succeeded by Costa Cabral, a supporter of the Charter. He retained power with few checks till April, 1846, by which time the principles of constitutional government had been firmly established. In May, 1846, a revolution compelled Cabral to go into exile, and Saldanha, who became Prime Minister, could only save the dynasty with the assistance of a British fleet. In 1847 foreign intervention was again called for. A force, partly Spanish and partly British, marched upon Oporto, and a British fleet blockaded the Douro. Oporto surrendered, and the civil war came to an end. The momentous year of revolutions found Portugal in a state of tranquillity, but exhausted by the struggles through which she had passed.

CHAPTER V

PIUS IX

The "Young Italy" Movement.

TWICE since the settlement of Vienna, in 1820 and 1830, had the efforts of Italian patriots to save their country from political annihilation, and endow it with national freedom and unity, failed before the presence of enemies abroad and at home. Political prisoners were languishing in Austrian and Italian prisons, and in every country of Europe exiles, voluntary and involuntary, were awaiting the hour of deliverance, and longing for a return to their native land. Italy was covered by a network of secret societies of a revolutionary character with which the exiles were in constant communication. The "Young Italy," founded by Mazzini in Marseilles in 1837, took the place of the older Carbonari and drew into its ranks a host of secret brotherhoods. Mazzini especially addressed the young men of his country. "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitudes," he said. "You know not the secret of the power hidden in these youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised upon the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of the apostles of the new religion." The influence of the society rapidly spread, and in 1833 it numbered 60,000 members.

Since the French and the Austrians had retired from the States of the Church, Central and Lower Italy became especially the scene of agitation and revolutionary movements. It was in these regions that grievances were most notorious, and the power of repression in the Government was weakened. Sporadic risings were crushed, and brought misery and death to those who took part in them, but this suffering kept the flame alive and set an example which bore fruit in later days. The political unrest, which was apparent in the whole of Europe at this time, showed that events must soon arise and produce a powerful effect upon Italy. When the time came the reformers felt that they must not be found unarmed and unprepared.

The Bandiera Brothers.

Nothing showed this feeling more than the touching episode of the two brothers Attilio and Emilio Bandiera in 1844, whose name now lives in the history of liberated Italy. They were sons of an Austrian colonel, who had taken an important

part in suppressing the revolt in the Romagna. Inspired by the writings of Mazzini, they determined to devote their lives to the liberation of their country. They obtained the assistance of Domenico Moro, who, like themselves, was an officer in the Venetian navy. These three left Venice and went to Corfu to await an opportunity for action. Hearing of an insurrection in Calabria, and exaggerating its importance, and joined by fifteen others, they landed at Cotrone and set out for Cosenza. Betrayed by a companion, they were surrounded by Bourbon troops and captured. Nine of them, including the brothers Bandiera, were condemned to be shot, and died bravely, saying as they fell "Long live Italy!" It was a sign of the unity of sentiment which "Young Italy" had produced that Venetians should sacrifice their lives for the liberation of Calabria, and that their companions should be drawn from all parts of the peninsula.

Silvio Pellico.

A remarkable literary movement gave strength and direction to these political aspirations. One of the best-known books in Europe was *Le Mie Prigioni*, by Silvio Pellico, known to many as the first Italian book they were taught to read. He was imprisoned in the Austrian fortress of Spielberg for ten years, but does not declaim against his persecutors. He merely relates his sufferings and misfortunes in moderate language, but every tear shed for his misfortunes was changed into a drop of hatred of his tyrants. Antonio Rosmini, of Roveredo, one of the purest spirits who ever illuminated the Romish community, protested strongly against the worldliness of the Church to which he belonged and the decay of the priestly ideal. He advocated the better education of the clergy, the independence of the Church, and the formation of an Italian federation, of which the Pope should be the head. Another powerful influence in the same direction was *I Promessi Sposi*, by Alessandro Manzoni, published in 1827. He disapproved of conspiracies and violence, but was a strong advocate of a united Italy. As Goethe did much to bring about the union of Germany, so Manzoni, by writing a book which was regarded everywhere as the product of Italy and not of Lombardy, stirred and consolidated the feeling which eventually succeeded in making Italy one.

Vincenzo Gioberti.

More effective, but less sane, were the writings of Vincenzo Gioberti, who published in 1843 a book called *Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani*, and in 1845 *Prolegomeni al Primato*. He argued that the Papacy, the head of Catholicism, the guardian of civilisation, had secured for the Italian people the first rank among nations. The unity of Italy could best be obtained by

a confederation under the Pope. The present condition of Italy was due, not to the badness of the government or the influence of a corrupt clergy, but to the decline of literature and to the laxness of the upper classes. He looked forward to a resurrection of Italy, by its taking the lead in science and art, based upon a foundation of religion. The Pope was to be the head not only of the Universal Church, but the president of the Italian federation. His office made him the arbiter and peacemaker of Europe, the spiritual father of mankind, the protector of the Latin races throughout the world, the inheritor of the *Imperium* of Rome. In the *Prolegomeni* he attacked the Jesuits and advocated the suppression of their order. These views were more powerfully expressed in *Il Gesuita Moderno*, published in 1847, which was translated into all languages. Gioberti was the advocate of a practical system of Italian government and gave substance to the dreams of "Young Italy." He advocated a scheme by which the unity of Italy could be secured without destroying existing political arrangements.

Cesare Balbo.

Another writer in the same field was Cesare Balbo, of Turin, who had been forced to leave his country owing to political troubles. Studying in Paris he wrote a history of Italy, a life of Dante, and a book on the philosophy of history. He became a minister and a friend of Charles Albert. His great work was *Le Speranze d'Italia*, which was stimulated by the *Primato* of Gioberti. In this he advocated the formation of an Italian federation under the supremacy of the Church, asserted Catholic civilisation to be the foundation of Italian policy, and pointed out that Austria was the chief hindrance to the restoration of Italian liberty.

Massimo d'Azeglio.

Another author, Massimo d'Azeglio, also a Piedmontese, and son-in-law of Manzoni, wrote *Gli ultimi casi di Romagna*, in which he exposed the consequences of Papal misrule. He showed the arrogance and incapacity of the delegates, the arbitrary character of the administration, the abuse of the courts of law, and the weakness of the authority of Rome. Anyone subjected to a special order of the police was not allowed to change his residence, must be at home at certain hours, report himself once a fortnight to the police, go to confession once a month, and spend three days every year in a convent selected by his bishop. The punishment for neglect of these rules was three years' penal servitude. D'Azeglio had no strong sympathy either with the dreams of Gioberti or the republicanism of Mazzini, but advocated the reforms which commend themselves to practical statesmen. To these names might also be added that of Gino Capponi, who had but little faith in the reformation of the Church or the priesthood.

He thought that Italy's salvation was to be sought in submission to the monarchy of Piedmont, the oldest dynasty in the country. Similar views were held by Terenzio Mamiani, of Pesaro.

Pope Pius IX.

Pope Gregory XVI. died on June 1st, 1846. It was imagined that there would be a disturbance in the Papal States, and especially in the Romagna, and that Austria would be compelled to intervene. Her intervention would be opposed by France, and a European war might be the result. When Metternich ordered Radetsky to be ready to invade the Legations, France warned Austria that any step of the kind would be followed by the occupation of Civita Vecchia and Ancona. As a matter of fact, no disturbance ensued, and, after a short conclave of forty-eight hours, Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti was elected Pope, at the age of fifty-four, and took the title of Pius IX. As Bishop of Imola he had acquired a hatred of Austrian oppression, was a close friend of Count Pasolini, a distinguished Liberal, and had been introduced by him to the writings of Gioberti, Balbo and d'Azeglio. They all hoped that he would be the leader of Italian Independence and emulate Hildebrand and Innocent III. in securing, for the Papal See, the primacy of Italy. He was a man of the world, accustomed to polite society, and had, before he became a priest, aimed at being a member of the Pope's Noble Guard. He had a magnificent voice, and when, from the balcony of St. Peter's, he gave his blessing to the city and the world, it could be heard throughout the vast area of the huge piazza.

The New Pope's Reforms.

On July 16th, four weeks after his accession, he published an amnesty, which proclaimed the pardon of all political offenders and suspects, and struck the keynote of the resurrection of Italy. The enthusiasm thus aroused was indescribable, and its importance cannot be overrated. It was a rehabilitation of patriotism, and made a virtue of what had before been a crime. Metternich perceived at once that his action must inevitably lead to war with Austria and to the liberation of Italy. But the Pope probably did not understand this. Having thus inaugurated his reign, he proceeded with other reforms. He introduced economies into his household, liberated the Press, took steps to reform legislation and the law courts, favoured the construction of railways, enlarged his Council of State by admitting to it distinguished provincials, gave the city of Rome a free municipality, and projected a Customs union, which might lead to an Italian federation. He strengthened the Civil Guard, as a protection against Austrian interference, and objected to the occupation by that Power of the Citadel of Ferrara. "We are prepared for everything," said Metternich,

" except for a Liberal Pope, and, now we have got one, there is no answering for anything."

Influence of Pius IX.

In this way Pius IX. placed himself at the head of the National movement, and made the Papacy once more the political centre of Italy. His policy was soon felt beyond the boundaries of the Papal States. Genoa celebrated the centenary of the expulsion of the Austrians in 1746. Milan held a public mourning for the death of Federigo Confalonieri, who had been confined in the Spielberg, and died just as he returned to celebrate the birth of a new Italy. Since 1839 scientific congresses had been held in Italy, and these served to bring together the most distinguished men from the whole peninsula, and bore the same relation to political union that the gymnastic meetings bore in Germany. In 1846 the scientific congress called itself a National Convention, and invited all Italy to take part in the Genoese celebrations and to illuminate the whole range of the Apennines with beacon fires. Similar feelings had been roused in the smaller Italian States—Tuscany, Lucca, Modena and Parma—while Naples and Sicily had been deeply stirred. Charles Albert carried out reforms in his own country of Piedmont, dismissed his Foreign Secretary, Della Margarita, who was favourable to the Austrians, and made Alfieri di Sostegno Minister of Education. In Venice Daniele Manin, Pietro Paleocapo and Valentino Pasini began to show themselves as opponents of Austrian domination.

Beginning of the Italian Revolution.

Meanwhile, in Rome reforms continued to proceed slowly, and the Pope began to be afraid of the significance of his own work. The Liberals wished for a Papal autocracy, but, on April 21st, 1847, the Pope created a Council of State, or advising council. The amnesty had now lasted a year, and preparations were made for celebrating it; but the leader of the populace, the Capapopolo, Brunetti, called Ciceruacchio, stopped it, being afraid of the growing influence of Austria and the Jesuits. Gioberti said that as Cicero had prevented the conspiracy of Catiline, so Ciceruacchio had stopped the conspiracy of the autocracy. The occupation of Ferrara by the Austrians on July 17th, a forcible repression of the reforming tendencies of the Pope, was the beginning of the Italian Revolution.

Metternich now began to act, and looked on the prospect of revolution and war with unshaken gaze. He was supported by Prussia and Austria, but Great Britain was on the side of reform. The British Cabinet had sent Lord Minto to encourage the Pope, but cautioned him to avoid provocation of Austria. In other parts of Italy the irritation against Austria developed. A civic

guard was formed in Tuscany, and Ridolfi became head of a Liberal Government. In Piedmont Charles Albert seemed ready to meet the occupation of Ferrara by declaring war against Austria. In August, 1847, an insurrection took place in both Messina and Reggio, and a more serious rising in the whole of Sicily was announced for January, 1848. The Pope declared that he had no desire for a war with Austria, and that the establishment of the Council of State had set the coping-stone to his reforms. At the same time the new municipality of Rome was decreeing a Constitution. The Revolution actually began by the rising in Palermo on January 12th, and in twenty-four days the whole of Italy was free from foreign occupation, except the fortress of Messina. The King of Naples offered to make terms, but the Sicilians proclaimed the adoption of the Constitution of 1812, a ridiculous and unworkable arrangement, imposed upon them by Lord William Bentinck during the British occupation, and a provisional Government was set up, with Ruggieri Settimo at its head.

Neapolitan and Papal Constitutions.

The King of Naples, anxious to anticipate the coming storm, granted a Constitution. On March 5th Charles Albert promulgated a *Statuto* for his dominions, which was never recalled, and, a few days earlier, on February 17th, a similar *Statuto* had been published in Tuscany. The Pope refused to grant a Constitution, or to expel the Jesuits, or to make war against Austria, and confined himself to blessing Italy solemnly from the balcony of the Quirinal. But he was obliged to give way, and on March 10th formed a Ministry of which Minghetti and Pasolini were members, and on March 14th he published a Constitution. But all these efforts were thrown into the shade by the Revolution of February in France, which drove Louis Philippe from his throne.

Switzerland and the "Articles of Baden."

We must now pass to Switzerland, where the Revolution had a religious origin, although the struggles between democracy and its opponents still went on. In January, 1834, certain cantons, with Berne at their head, drew up a document called "The Articles of Baden," the object of which was to defend the State against the encroachments of the Church. They were condemned by the Pope as false, audacious, inclining towards heresy and schismatism, and were not supported by public opinion. They were rejected in St. Gall, and proved a dead letter even in Berne, but had the effect of exasperating the Roman Catholics. On the other hand, great indignation was roused in Zürich by the appointment of David Friedrich Strauss, the author of the *Leben Jesu*, to a professorship, and the Liberal Government was turned out.

The Sonderbund.

Retribution followed, as a matter of course. In Ticino the clerical Ministry was deposed, and in Aargau an attempt of the Catholics, in 1841, to turn out the Liberals was defeated, with the result that a law was passed to suppress the monasteries. This was contrary to the provisions of the Union, and the Catholics determined to protect their rights by force of arms. The dispute continued till 1843, when three nunneries were re-established, which the Federal Diet considered as satisfactory. Against this decision the Catholic cantons protested, and Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg and the Valais eventually formed a separate league, called the Sonderbund, which was finally constituted in June, 1844. The seven cantons demanded the restoration of the Aargau monasteries, and Aargau replied by asking for the expulsion of the Jesuits. This led to a civil war in Lucerne itself, which culminated in the Battle of Malters, April 1st, 1845, in which the Liberals were defeated.

Civil War in Switzerland.

On December 11th, 1845, the seven cantons banded themselves into an armed separate league, with a common council of war, presided over by Siegwart-Müller. As they formed a fifth part of the population, it was clear their secession could not be allowed, since it would have broken up the confederation. In July, 1846, Zürich, which was then the capital of the confederation, protested against the league and asked the Federal Diet to dissolve it. It was not till July, 1847, however, that a vote was passed to this effect. The Sonderbund prepared for war and sought alliances with foreign Powers. Europe, in the main, took the side of the Sonderbund as an outwork against revolution, then generally threatening. Piedmont and France actually assisted the League with arms and money. Great Britain, however, was an exception. George Grote, the historian of Greece, had explained the situation to his countrymen, and Palmerston, like Canning, was a European Liberal at heart. But war grew inevitable, and in October, 1847, General Dufour was placed at the head of 100,000 soldiers and 260 guns. To these the Sonderbund opposed an army of 79,000 men and 74 guns, under the command of Salis-Soglio. The campaign was over in twenty-five days. Freiburg capitulated on November 14th, Zug on November 21st, Lucerne on November 24th, Unterwalden, Schwyz and Uri on the three following days, and Valais on November 29th. The Federals lost 78 killed and 260 wounded, and the disbanded Federal army reached their homes in February, 1848.

The sudden collapse of the Sonderbund made intervention by foreign Powers impossible. Guizot had formed a plan by which

the Powers should unite to impose a new Constitution on the Federation. Great Britain, represented by Palmerston, refused to take part in this enterprise, and confined herself to simple offers of mediation. The French note arrived at Berne the very day after the Sonderbund had ceased to exist. The Diet could reply with dignity that it was contrary to the principles of independence, recognised for Switzerland in 1815, to listen to foreign interference. It became necessary, however, to remodel the Swiss Constitution and change it in some degree from a loose to a close confederacy. Owing to the revolutions which now broke out in various European countries, the Swiss were at liberty to manage their own affairs and work out their democratic principles unchecked.

Swiss Federal Arrangements.

In federal governments the main point to determine is what powers shall be given to the central authority, and what shall remain with the separate States of which the confederation is composed. The Federal Government was given complete control of the army, which, by wise legislation and administration, developed into one of the best armies in Europe, a model to all nations of what a citizen army should be. Weights, measures, and coinage were made uniform. Common Customs were established, and a common Post Office the administration of which is an object of admiration to all who have to do with it. Equality before the law, liberty of residence, liberty of creed for all Christian denominations, freedom of the Press and of public meeting, were recognised as the fundamental principles of a democratic State.

The Swiss Legislature.

The Legislature was constituted in two Houses—the Senate, representing the cantons, to which it gave equal representation, each canton, whether small or large, sending two members; and the Lower House, which represented the people and was composed of members elected in proportion to the population of each canton, the large cantons, therefore, receiving a greater number of representatives than the smaller. This arrangement was borrowed from the United States, where it formed the basis of the famous "Connecticut compromise," which made the Constitution of America possible. It has worked in Switzerland with remarkable success. The Federal Executive was a council comprising seven members, elected by the two Chambers acting together, to sit for three years. Out of this council was chosen a President, to hold office for a year. A Federal Court of Judicature was also established, and a means of revising the Constitution, if necessary, was provided. A further revision took place in the year 1867.

The Constitution remains the model of a democratic govern-

ment, the best, the happiest, the most successful known to the present day, worthy of the attentive study of all who visit Switzerland. It is a marvel that Switzerland has a separate existence at all. It is composed of at least three races, speaking at least three languages, professing different religions; its component parts are separated by impassable mountains; its territory is an object of desire to all the Powers which surround it. It owes its existence to the passionate love of liberty which animates its citizens, and to the Constitution, based upon liberty, which binds them together. It is significant that, at the moment when thrones were toppling and European Governments were shaken to their foundations, Switzerland should have succeeded in raising an edifice which has withstood all the shocks of fate. After the convulsions of these two revolutionary years Switzerland took her place among the Powers of Europe as an independent State, more fitted to be a mediator or model to other nations than to be the object of tutelage or patronage.

CHAPTER VI

PRESIDENT LOUIS NAPOLEON

French Scandals.

BEFORE the dynasty of July fell it met with several notable misfortunes. The charges of corruption which weakened its authority were confirmed by the trials of General Cubières and the Minister Teste. Émile Girardin, the editor of *La Presse*, which was the powerful opponent of Republicanism, who had killed Armand Carrel in a duel, was found to be in the pay of the Government; and the murder of the Duchesse de Praslin by her husband threw a lurid light on the moral character of the Orléans Monarchy, which did not become less strong when the Duke killed himself in prison. The people were reminded, by these events, of the scandals which had preceded the fall of Louis XVI.

Louis Philippe's Foreign Policy.

Moreover, the foreign policy of Louis Philippe had become gradually less in harmony with the nation. He appeared more as a supporter of the Holy Alliance and less as a supporter of democratic reform. Guizot's action with regard to Switzerland produced unfavourable impressions. Yet, while the King estranged his own subjects, he did not conciliate the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. Austria was not sympathetic, and the Emperor of Russia treated the Orléans king as a *parvenu*. It was known that France had used her influence to restrain Rossi, the reforming Minister of Pius IX., lest any offence should be given to Austria; that in Italy she represented a counter-influence to the generous policy of Great Britain; that, while the British navy was assisting the efforts of Italian independence, French vessels in Toulon and Port-Vendres were arming to repress it. The whole nation was conscious that the Government was rotten, that it had failed to carry out the objects for which it was originally established. The aged monarch removed himself more and more from the influences of public opinion, and only associated with those who agreed with him. He gave his complete confidence to Guizot, who almost equalled his Sovereign in unchangeable stubbornness, but who, from his eloquence and high character, was possibly the best support that the Orléanist dynasty could find.

Matters would not be improved by the King's death. The

heir to the throne was a child, and the chosen Regent, Nemours, was unpopular. The Chambers were composed largely of placemen and were tainted with suspicions of corruption. It was against them that the attacks of the Liberal Opposition and the friends of reform were in the first instance directed. There are many reasons why France is better governed as a monarchy than as a republic. But a French monarchy, to be effective, must have both prestige and power, and the monarchy of Louis Philippe had neither. The new French King, who appeared on the balcony of his palace whenever a few street ragamuffins shouted "*Vive le Roi!*" under his window, did not impress the Parisian imagination, and the Parisian has no respect for, or understanding of, a monarchical government founded on the dull and drab lines of the British Constitution, their history having led them to associate monarchy with the splendour of Henry IV. and Louis XIV. and the glories of Napoleon.

Electoral Reform.

The remedy of these evils was looked for in electoral reform. As the British Reform Bill of 1832 had made the government national, instead of confining it to a privileged class, so the opponents of the present regime, whether Legitimists, Constitutionals, or Republicans, regarded the extension of the franchise as the only means of doing away with corruption and inefficiency. At the same time, while the first two parties advocated a restricted franchise, the Republicans demanded universal suffrage. A method of stimulating public opinion on this question was sought, not in public meetings or in petitions, but in so-called Reform banquets, held in different parts of France and addressed by prominent statesmen. Among those who spoke at these political dinners were Odilon Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne, Thiers, and Rémusat. A speech of Lamartine at Mâcon on one of these occasions produced a great sensation. The Radicals revived the Société de Saisons, and Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc advocated social democracy in *La Réforme*. The feeling that Guizot's Government had opposed the popular party in Italy and Switzerland increased the agitation and led to more pronounced demonstrations.

The Chambers met on December 28th, 1847, and the Opposition determined to hold a Reform banquet in Paris, which had hitherto been free from this particular form of movement. The Speech from the Throne denounced the blind perverseness of the Reformers and, in order to stop the banquets, an antiquated law of 1790 was resuscitated. A violent assault was made upon the Government. They were accused of interfering with the rights of public meeting, and charged with political corruption and support

of the Austrians and Jesuits. Lamartine said: "Since you interfered in Spain, France has acted in contradiction to its traditions and its interests; she has been Ghibelline in Rome, Clerical in Berne, Austrian in Piedmont, Russian in Cracow, French nowhere, counter-revolutionary everywhere."

Reform Riots.

Notwithstanding the prohibition, the leaders of the Left—Odilon Barrot, Garnier Pagès and Arago—had determined to hold a Reform banquet in the Twelfth Arrondissement, in the neighbourhood of the Champs Élysées. There was to be a procession, and the National Guard was invited, without obtaining leave from its officers. The Government objected, and the Opposition gave way, and agreed to submit the question of the legality of public meeting to the Law Courts. But they had reckoned without their host. On February 22nd, the day fixed for the banquet, workmen in blouses, students, pupils of the Polytechnic School, and urchins went about the streets shouting, "Down with Guizot! *Vive la Réforme!*" They thronged the vicinity of the Parliament House and demanded the indictment of Ministers. These disorders lasted for two days; the National Guard was on the side of the people, and the soldiers were averse to energetic measures. The King thought that he could calm the storm by dismissing Guizot and putting Molé in his place, keeping the rest of the Ministry unchanged. This news caused great excitement. The streets were thronged, the houses were illuminated, men embraced each other. But the step was not enough. The workmen in the north of Paris still retained their arms and stood by the barricades. At night a torchlight procession, which the troops were powerless to stop, marched along the boulevards. In an unhappy moment a shot was heard, the soldiers fired a volley into the crowd, and eighty-two bodies of dead and wounded lay upon the ground. The furious mob seized upon a passing wagon, filled it with corpses, and marched, torch in hand, with cries of "Treachery!" "Vengeance!" "To arms!"

Abdication of Louis Philippe.

The King now saw his error and summoned to his councils Thiers, Odilon Barrot, Duvergier de Hauranne and Marshal Bugeaud. It was too late. Appeals for peace were answered by cries of "The King deceives you! Bugeaud will slaughter you!" Louis Philippe now abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris—whose mother, the Duchesse d'Orléans, was Regent—stole out of the Tuileries by a back door, and set off, first to St. Cloud, and then to Dreux and the coast. The King and Queen eventually reached England with some difficulty, and were lodged at Claremont, which belonged at that time to their son-in-law,

the King of the Belgians. There Louis Philippe remained till his death on August 26th, 1850. The Duchesse d'Orléans, with great courage, went to the Parliament House, accompanied by her two sons, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, and asked for the protection of the Chambers. This could not be granted in the face of the surging mob and the tumultuous galleries. The Duchess was, indeed, separated for some time from her children and her brother-in-law, the Duc de Nemours.

A Republic Proclaimed.

Liberal opinion was gradually demanding a republic. A provisional Government was formed, with the aged Dupont de l'Eure at its head, and a Republic was proclaimed from the Hôtel de Ville, even before the sanction of the people for this form of government had been obtained. It was formed of Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Arago, Garnier Pagès and Louis Blanc. The Tuileries was attacked, the furniture was burned, and the throne was carried into the Place de la Bastille and torn to pieces under the Column of July. Life, however, and property were safe in the capital, and works of art were protected by the Polytechnic and other students. Lamartine succeeded in forming a Guard Mobile, and a few days afterwards Caussidière, the Prefect of Police, got together a kind of National Guard. The revolution had taken place with lightning rapidity; a few hours had upset the monarchy and driven the King into exile; the unpopular deputies in the Chamber fled or concealed themselves. The Orléans dynasty had no party and no supporters. Aumale and Joinville, one of whom was commanding an army in Algeria, the other a fleet at sea, quickly resigned their posts and retired to England.

The Red Flag Displaced by the Tricolour.

The difficulties of the new Government now began. They had to reconcile government with revolution, order with anarchy; to find work for the unemployed and subsistence for the starving. The excitement was over; the cries of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" had ceased; the reality of political life had come. A National Assembly was to meet in May, but till that time the provisional Government ruled over France. Lamartine secured the substitution of the tricolour for the red flag. He was the soul of the administration, and his manifesto to Europe, published on March 3rd, tended to produce confidence in the new order of things and to allay apprehension. At the same time the Revolution had been the work of the working classes, and it was necessary to listen to the leaders of the Radicals and Socialists. In the first days of the Revolution Louis Blanc and Garnier Pagès had put their names to a petition declaring that it was the duty of the Government to find work for the unemployed. The "right

to work" was advocated, and at last a workman named Albert was added to the provisional Government, while Louis Blanc was allowed to organise labour for the unemployed and poorer classes with the help of a workmen's Parliament. It was difficult to stop the Socialist movement. The State found itself bound to provide for the unemployed and unemployable sections of society, in national workshops, which consumed millions and produced nothing. To produce an appearance of utility, earthworks were begun, in which the earth was taken away one day and brought back the next. Two francs a day were given to all persons without work, and this impoverished the revenue and pauperised the people.

Anarchists Active.

The Anarchists began to raise their heads; the foundation of a Committee of Public Safety, with a revolutionary dictatorship, was part of their programme. Conspiracies and insurrections were put down with the greatest difficulty. The Treasury was exhausted, taxes were not paid, business was at a standstill, the National Debt grew, the project of a national loan came to nothing, and an increase of taxes produced general discontent.

Universal Suffrage.

The embarrassment of the Government was increased by the return of the Social Democrats, who clamoured for a popular representation and attempted to form a Committee of Public Safety, after the model of that established in Paris in 1789. While Garnier Pagès mismanaged the Treasury, Ledru Rollin caused confusion in the whole machine of Government, by dismissing all the permanent officials and filling their places with men of decided Republican and revolutionary opinions. A Constitutional Assembly was now summoned. The suffrage was to be direct and universal; all Frenchmen over twenty-one years of age were to have a vote, and all Frenchmen over twenty-five were eligible for election. Voting was to be by ballot and *scrutin de liste*, according to Departments—that is, all the candidates for a Department were to be voted for together.

The Extremists Disappointed.

The result of the elections was a disappointment to the Extreme party. In Paris the Socialist leaders, Barbès, Leroux and Raspail, obtained a relatively small number of votes, and the members of the provisional Government received support in their efforts to restrain violence and impatience. In the provinces Lamartine was elected in ten Departments, but out of 840 deputies, of whom the new Assembly was composed, 130 were Legitimists and at least 100 were supporters of Louis Napoleon. Thus more than a fourth of the Assembly was Royalist. It met on May 4th, declared the government of France to be permanently

Republican, and established in the place of the provisional Government an Executive Committee, consisting of Arago, Garnier Pagès, Lamartine and Ledru Rollin. Preparations were made for abolishing the national workshops, and it was clear that the new Chamber would not recognise the axiom of the "right to work."

The Workmen's Parliament.

Huber, Blanqui and Raspail, the leaders of the Social Democrats, consequently determined to destroy the National Assembly by a new conspiracy, and establish a revolutionary dictatorship. Their pretext was the foreign policy of the Government; they adopted the principles of 1792—that the business of a republic was to make war on kings and organise crusades for the liberation of enslaved nations. On May 15th a deputation was presented to the Chamber, asking that France should demand the restoration of Poland, and, in case of refusal, declare war upon the three Powers which had partitioned her. The Assembly was invaded, and Blanqui, Barbès and Huber proceeded to decree its dissolution, to establish a tax on the rich, and to declare war against the kings of Europe. Happily, the National Guard was able to establish order in the capital; the revolt was put down, and the conspirators were imprisoned at Vincennes. The Assembly met in a large hall built for the purpose, which exposed them to the attacks of the crowded galleries. When the Assembly was complete, Buchez and the bulk of the members retired, whilst the Democratic leaders proceeded to the formation of a new Government. Driven out by the National Guard, they took refuge in the Hôtel de Ville. Sobrier and his myrmidons were overpowered in the Rue de Rivoli, and the Revolutionary Guard of Caussidière was dispersed. The workmen's Parliament, which sat in the Luxembourg under Louis Blanc, came to an end.

Dissolution of the National Workshops.

Supplementary elections strengthened the Moderate party by returning Thiers, Changarnier and Louis Napoleon as members of the Assembly; and they now attempted to establish a republic on a durable basis. It became necessary, however, to deal with the national workshops, which were a source of pauperism and expense. The younger workmen were sent into the army, and the older drafted to the provinces to make entrenchments. The workmen resented this and prepared for a rising. They were supported by Legitimists and Bonapartists, who supplied them with money. On June 23rd barricades were erected in all the working-class districts, and Lamartine, seeing that a struggle was inevitable, advised his colleagues to give unrestricted authority to General Cavaignac, Minister of War. The Assembly, having

established a dictatorship, requested the Executive Committee to resign.

Cavaignac's Firmness.

The struggle which now broke out between the Extremists and the Moderates was longer and more sanguinary than that which brought about the fall of the Monarchy of July. Cavaignac was a more resolute antagonist than Louis Philippe. General Bréa fell, and Affre, the pious Archbishop of Paris, who advanced to the barricades to attempt to establish peace between the warring factions, was mortally wounded.

Cavaignac would accept no terms short of unconditional surrender, and at three in the morning of July 26th ordered an attack which resulted in a complete victory. The insurgents lost 10,000 killed and wounded, and their leaders were tried before the courts, thousands of prisoners being transported to colonies across the seas. Cavaignac received the thanks of the Assembly, and was made president of a new executive authority. Lamoricière became Minister of War, and Changarnier was placed in command of the National Guard.

The New Constitution.

The first piece of business was the drawing-up of a Constitution. It was the work of a committee, of which Armand Marrast was the reporter, and was afterwards ratified by the Assembly. A preamble declared that, by means of the Republic, the nation would work with greater freedom in the matter of progress and civilisation, would assure a more equal distribution of burdens and advantages, and would enable all citizens to attain a higher standard of moderate prosperity and enlightenment, by the help of laws and institutions. It recognised that there were rights and duties, equal to and superior to actual laws; undertook to respect foreign nationalities and establish free popular education; and announced that the State and the Departments would establish public workshops for the benefit of the unemployed. This programme was certainly not carried into practice.

There was great discussion whether there should be one or two Chambers. Lamartine and Dupin, who were in favour of a single Chamber, obtained a majority of forty over Duvergier de Hauranne and Odilon Barrot, who supported two. The committee proposed to place the executive power in the hands of a president, elected directly by the people, by universal suffrage, and this was eventually passed by a majority of 500. He was to serve for five years, and could not be elected a second time except after a five years' interval. He appointed his Ministers, but they were responsible to the Assembly, and, with the president

himself, were subject to a High Court of Justice, elected out of the members of the Court of Cassation. On November 12th, 1848, a service, held in the Place de la Concorde, gave a solemn religious sanction to the new Republican rule.

Louis Napoleon, President.

The president was to be elected on December 10th. The choice lay between General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon, and the nephew of the Emperor was chosen by a vote of 5,500,000. He had only recently become a Deputy, after the decree of banishment against the Napoleon family had been rescinded. At that time Louis Napoleon was regarded as a man of no great importance. The Duc de Sermoneta, who had known him well in Italy, said that he "was a reed painted to look like iron," and he received the name of Napoleon the Little, in contrast to Napoleon the Great. This was, however, a mistaken view. He was a very able man with decided views and determination to carry them out. Indeed, his career as Emperor, though begun in crime and darkened by extravagance and social corruption, has not received the praise which it deserves, and which, doubtless, some day will be given to it. He owed his return to the devotion of the people to the Napoleonic tradition, to the Clerical influence, for he was known to be a supporter of the Church, and to the landed proprietors' hatred of Radicalism and Socialism. Cavaignac laid down his power, and on December 20th, 1848, the new President took the oath—at the hands of Armand Marrast and in the sight of God and the French people—to remain faithful to the democratic Republic, one and indivisible, and to perform all the duties laid upon him by the Constitution.

After this he made a speech to the Deputies, in which he said: "The voice of the nation and the oath which I have just taken point out the course of my future conduct. My duties are prescribed for me, and I shall perform them as a man of honour. I will regard all those as enemies of their country who try to alter, by illegal means, what France has ordained. Between you and me, citizens and deputies, there can be no difference of opinion. Our will and our wishes are the same. I wish, like you, to secure the State and society firmly on their foundations. I will strengthen democratic institutions, and will do everything to alleviate the sufferings of this magnanimous and single-minded people, which has given me so clear a proof of its confidence." As President Louis Napoleon went to live in the Palace of the Élysées Bourbon, which was assigned to him as a residence.

Throughout these convulsions the French had preserved their qualities of bravery, patriotism and political tact. All parties

strove for the greatness of France. Thiers said, in his first speech in Parliament: "My friends and I have neither made the Republic nor desired it, but we accept it; we accept it honestly and sincerely. The form of government which we strove for is broken, but under the present form, as under forms which have previously existed, we will endeavour to realise the best interests of our country."

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION FEVER IN 1848

The Spread of Republicanism.

THE Revolution of February in France produced in the rest of Europe far more startling effects than the Revolution of July had done. In Italy, Germany, Poland and Switzerland it gave rise to violent party quarrels and passionate national feeling. Some enthusiastic natures, knowing little of practical politics, went so far as to dream of the establishment of unrestricted liberty and a Republic which should embrace the whole of Europe, founded upon the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, without any restraints of national or religious differences. The temporary victory of these views confirmed the enthusiasts in their hopes, and a propaganda, which had its centre in Paris, fed the revolutionary fire and spread abroad Republican ideas of a socialistic and communistic character, and stirred the aspirations of the lower classes of the people, the workmen and the proletariat.

Many believed and many hoped that the Revolution would take its course through Europe, following the precedent of its predecessor in 1789; and the circumstances of the time were favourable to revolutionary movements, especially in Germany. In that country a serious commercial crisis was accompanied by distress caused by unfavourable harvests. The discontent was stimulated by the current literature, and excited outbreaks in Berlin, Stuttgart, Munich, and other towns. They were put down by the military and the police, and the misery which provoked them was alleviated by the generosity of the rich and the sympathy of the benevolent. A good harvest also led to a temporary improvement.

Poverty in Germany.

But inequality in the distribution of property and in the enjoyment of the advantages of life was becoming more apparent. The population of Germany was growing gradually poorer. The proletariat had nothing before them but an abyss of wretchedness and misery, which might end by swallowing up the middle classes as well. The only remedy lay in far-reaching political and social reforms, for the emigration of thousands every year to the United States did little to stop the evil, and the attempt to curb the Press

only drove the feeling of discontent deeper into the people's heart. The universal unrest could only end in political convulsions.

The Revolution and Baden.

The Revolution first broke out in Baden. Violent petitions addressed to the Chambers demanded freedom of the Press, trial by jury, the establishment of a National Guard and a German Parliament. The Baden Government met this by abolishing feudal privileges and compensating their possessors out of the public funds. Officials who had incurred the hatred of the people were removed, and unpopular deputies resigned their seats. The example of Baden proved infectious. In Würtemberg, Saxony, and other German States the government was entrusted to the Liberal Opposition, some crying evils were remedied and electoral laws altered. The news of the Revolution in Paris, which reached Baden on February 27th, produced a powerful effect. Fifty-one popular men, mostly leaders of the Liberal Opposition in the several States, met at Heidelberg to consult upon the needs of the hour. They issued to the German people an appeal, which demanded a national representation according to population, besides appointing a committee of seven, which embraced the names of Gagern, Welcker and Itzstein.

The Constitution Considered.

A still larger assembly of prominent Liberal politicians was summoned to meet at Frankfort at the end of March, and even the Diet found it necessary to satisfy national aspirations. It issued an appeal to the German nation on March 1st, urging the co-operation of governments and peoples to place Germany in the position which she ought to occupy in Europe; this could only be done by concord, constitutional progress and national development. The Diet allowed its members to deal with the censorship of the Press in any way they liked, and determined to undertake a revision of the Constitution. A commission was appointed for this purpose, and the German tricolour, for which so many patriots had suffered persecution and imprisonment, was adopted as the national flag. But the repentance of the Diet came too late to obliterate the memory of its previous errors.

Metternich's Evil Influence.

It was now the turn of Metternich to suffer. For thirty years he had dominated the councils of Europe with undisputed authority, and it was not creditable to the intelligence of those who followed him that a man so shallow, so frivolous, so immoral, should have possessed the influence he wielded. Oxenstiern has bid us remember with how little wisdom the affairs of the world are governed. The study of history shows that light-minded and adaptable natures, floating like corks on the surface of affairs, have often great influence for harm, while deeper and more powerful characters are

unable to subdue to their will the forces of the age. Metternich never understood or affected to understand the forces by which he was surrounded and by which he was eventually overthrown. Examination of his career shows that the harm he did was scarcely illuminated by a single good action. He wormed himself into the confidence of Napoleon, persuaded him to divorce Josephine and to marry Marie Louise. Bound to support the French Empire by every consideration of honour, and indeed of interest, he basely deserted Napoleon in his hour of need; and while he was able to bring about the fall of that mighty man, he also effectually secured the ruin of his own country. It was mainly owing to him that Austria does not hold in Germany the position which Prussia holds to-day. His voluminous memoirs hardly contain a single page exhibiting statesmanlike insight and precision. He meets patriotic enthusiasm with cynical contempt, and his ridicule of progress did not prevent him from arresting it with inhuman cruelty. His deliberate corruption of Marie Louise, his master's daughter, may be the worst of his crimes, but it is typical of many others with which his career was stained. The hatred with which he was regarded by the enlightened minds of Europe has been confirmed by posterity, and it is not likely that this deliberate judgment will ever be reversed.

Agitation in Austria.

The Revolution of February sounded the knell of his system. The excitement in Vienna was feverish. The States of Hungary demanded a separate Government, a reform of the Constitution, more moderate taxation, liberation from the necessity of undertaking the Austrian debt, and a provision that Hungarian soldiers should not be compelled to serve out of their own country. From Hungary the agitation spread to Prague, and from Prague to Vienna, where the Austrian Chambers met in March. The secrecy which was preserved with regard to the financial condition of the country caused profound mistrust. Paper money was in some cases refused, commerce and industry came to a standstill, and the number of the unemployed increased. Viennese students put themselves at the head of the movement. They presented petitions to the Chambers, the Ministers and the Emperor, and by tumultuous meetings stirred up the country to rebellion. The students were armed, and the soldiers declined to act with severity against them. As the powers of the State were unable to restore order, Metternich had no alternative but to resign his office, which he did on March 13th, seeking refuge in England.

The flight of the Chancellor was the prelude to anarchy. The people were aroused. A nation which had never been allowed

to know what freedom meant, or how it could be properly used, now came into the possession of unrestricted political power. The freedom of the Press found expression in the wildest extravagance of abuse, the right of public meeting resulted in the coming together of noisy and violent demagogues, and the foundation of democratic clubs, which were a hindrance to order. The Government which succeeded Metternich was out of sympathy with Radical demands, and showed weakness and incompetence. Vienna was in the hands of the students and a hastily-formed Civic Guard.

Riots in Vienna.

The proposal of a moderate Constitution caused another outbreak on May 15th. The Government was asked to summon a Constitutional Diet, elected by manhood suffrage from all the States of which the Monarchy was composed, whose business it would be to draw up a new Constitution. The Emperor, broken in health by these occurrences, retired to Innsbruck on May 19th. This produced a reaction in his favour, which was utilised to dissolve the Student Legion and to occupy the University buildings with troops. These steps, however, resulted in a third outbreak on May 26th, worse than the other two. The streets were blockaded with barricades and filled with citizen soldiers, warming themselves at watch-fires. At last it was arranged that the soldiers should be removed from the city and that order should be preserved by a Committee of Public Safety, composed of citizens, National Guards and students. The University buildings, however, remained closed.

On July 22nd the National Assembly was opened under the presidency of Archduke John, acting as representative of the Emperor in his absence. On August 12th Ferdinand returned to the capital, amid the acclamations of the people, under the escort of the National Guard. At the same time force had to be used to quell disorder. On June 2nd Prague was bombarded by Prince Windischgrätz, after his wife had been shot dead at a window of her palace.

Prussian Discontent.

Berlin also had her days of March. Frederick William IV. was urged to make concessions, which would prevent the influence of the Revolution of February from spreading to Prussia. But what could he do? His stubborn spirit urged him to do nothing, and nothing he could have done would have been of any use. He depended upon the loyalty and steadfastness of his army. But the disturbances in Vienna made him realise that the danger was nearer than he thought, and the necessity of timely reform became apparent. Even then he was deaf to advice. The disturbances in Berlin must first be put down by force; then, when that was

done, reforms could be conceded by grace, instead of being extorted by fear. This did not suit the populace, or the Poles, who were behind their back. The removal of soldiers was demanded with increasing energy, and on March 17th, 1848, the Government yielded. The censorship of the Press was abolished, and a complete alteration of the Constitution was promised, coupled with a fresh arrangement as to the relations of Prussia to the German Federation.

Barricades in Berlin.

Next day the rioters were more audacious than ever. Crowds collected before the palace, demanding the dismissal of the soldiers and the establishment of a National Guard. The King refused to receive a deputation of the town authorities. At last a division of infantry marched out of the palace to drive the people back. Two shots were fired, as so frequently happens in such crises, whether by accident or design, by soldiers or casual loiterers, is not known. Cries arose of "Treason!" "We are being murdered!" "To arms!" Barricades were immediately erected: it is said that two hundred were made within two hours. A murderous struggle took place, which lasted fourteen hours. The soldiers captured a certain number of barricades, but, with the attack, the passion of the people rose. On the morning of March 19th the struggle was still undecided. The citizens refused to lay down their arms or evacuate the barricades, and at last the King gave in. He sent away the soldiers, dismissed his Ministry, and placed both the town and the palace under the protection of a National Guard. The soldiers withdrew to the sound of muffled drums. The corpses of those who had fallen at the barricades were carried into the palace court, and the King was compelled to pay them honour with uncovered head, while the Queen, who accompanied him, fainted. The whole assembled throng intoned a solemn chorale as Germans alone know how to execute it, and the striking scene, scarcely surpassed in history, came to an end.

Distrust of the King.

Frederick William IV. was so impressed by what had happened that he granted a complete amnesty to all who had been accused of or condemned for political offences. This amnesty, which was extended to other German States, allowed political exiles to return to their native land, where they renewed their agitations. On March 21st the King issued a proclamation declaring that he placed himself at the head of the Fatherland for the salvation of Germany, and that he desired, as a new Constitutional King, to be regarded as the leader of a free, new-born German nation. This was received with general mistrust, which was not diminished when he executed a solemn progress through the streets of his capital, decorated with

German colours, and accompanied by his Ministers and the princes of his house. The declaration that he desired the freedom and unity of Germany caused dismay in the southern States, and his theatrical performance inspired ridicule rather than confidence. The time was not yet ripe for the declaration of the Prussian hegemony of Germany.

Effects in Berlin.

The King's brother, the Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor William I., who was supposed to be the leader of the reactionary party, was sent to England, and on March 22nd a solemn funeral of the martyrs of the insurrection was held at Berlin, attended by nearly all the clergy of the capital, the King baring his head as the coffins passed the palace. In the following month the Prussian Parliament met for the last time, to give its consent to a law referring the elections to the new constitutional National Assembly. But in consequence of these disturbances the capital had undergone a remarkable change. Hundreds of well-to-do families had left Berlin, and the streets were filled with starving beggars, fit material for the operations of agitators, of clubs and workmen's unions, which all had a revolutionary tendency. The Ministry underwent a rapid metamorphosis, which deprived the Government of strength and determination, and it was known that the King had yielded to the popular sentiment much against his will and under the pressure of circumstances.

The National Parliament.

The National Parliament at Frankfort now came into being. On March 5th, 1848, a committee of seven had been appointed to make arrangements for the meeting of the National Assembly, but previously to this a preliminary assembly was to be held under the name of a *Vorparlament*. On March 8th, an advisory committee of seventeen had been appointed by the old Diet, to suggest means of constituting a new Diet. Of these Dahlmann was the most distinguished, and on April 25th he produced a sketch of a Constitution, which is known in German history as "Dahlmann's Constitution." It established the principle of a hereditary head of the Empire. There were to be two Chambers, the Upper Chamber to consist of the hereditary princes and 160 notables, chosen partly by the Government and partly by the Diet of the several States. There were to be common diplomatic action and common customs, but a large amount of independence was left to the component parts of the Empire. East and West Prussia were to be included in it, and part of Posen, but only the German dominions of the House of Austria. The scheme was supported by the Prince of Prussia and by Usedom, the Prussian plenipotentiary at the Diet, but it was strongly opposed by Frederick

William IV., who preferred a scheme of his own, with the Emperor of Austria as hereditary Roman Emperor and the King of Prussia as German King. Thus the scheme fell through.

Demand for a German Republic.

The *Vorparlament* met at Frankfort on March 31st. It consisted of 576 members, of whom 141 came from Prussia, 72 from Baden, 84 from Hesse-Darmstadt, but only 2 from Austria. It was not a great success, and has been generally known as "the Wild Parliament." A powerful minority proposed to summon a National Assembly, elected on democratic lines with regard to position, property and creed. A Radical party, led by Hecker and Struve, went even farther. They put forward a socialist programme and recommended revolutionary methods for carrying it out. Not being able to carry this into effect, they quitted the Assembly in disgust. But the result was an armed rising in the neighbourhood of Constance in favour of a German Republic. This rising was suppressed before the end of April, after it had cost the valuable life of Friedrich Gagern, brother of the Minister.

Opening of the National Assembly.

On May 18th the National Assembly was opened, with appropriate solemnity, in St. Paul's Church in Frankfort. It was a very distinguished body. The landowners, the merchants and the manufacturers were inadequately represented in it, but it included a number of men of solid academical learning, indeed, the foremost historical and legal luminaries of the age. Amongst them were Dahlmann, Droysen, Duncker, Waitz, Mohl, Welcker and Mittermaier, together with Jacob Grimm, Arndt and Uhland; there were also several judges and administrative officials, and a fine sprinkling of barristers. It chose as its president, by a large majority, Heinrich von Gagern, a man distinguished by high principles, great moral courage, and a commanding personality. On May 24th two committees were appointed, one of thirty, to draft a scheme for a national Constitution, and one of fifteen, to consider the establishment of a supreme executive authority. Archduke John of Austria, who had democratic sympathies and had married the daughter of a village postmaster, was appointed *Reichsverweser*, a strange title which apparently meant "Imperial Vicar." On July 11th the new head of the Empire made his solemn entry into Frankfort and appointed a Ministry. The discussions with regard to the Constitution began in characteristic German fashion, by establishing the fundamental rights of German citizenship. They were produced by the *Reichsverweser* on December 27th, 1848, and were inaugurated into the Constitution of the Empire on March 28th, 1849, but the larger States, Austria,

Prussia, Bavaria and Hanover, did not proclaim them as law or regard them as having the force of law.

Schleswig-Holstein.

Together with these events occurred disturbances in Schleswig-Holstein, the fruitful cause of trouble in Germany, which led eventually to the war between Prussia and Denmark, then to the war between Prussia and Austria, and finally to the establishment of the German Empire in the hands of Prussia. Without going deeply into the ramifications of this complicated question, it may be mentioned that Holstein was regarded as an integral part of the German Empire, while Schleswig was almost entirely Danish, but that these two Duchies regarded themselves as bound together by an indissoluble tie. The first line of their national hymn was "Schleswig-Holstein sea-surrounded."

Schleswig Absorbed by Denmark.

Frederick VII. became King of Denmark in January, 1848, and disturbances broke out which forced him to declare the Duchy of Schleswig an integral part of the Danish kingdom. The Duchies clung to their independence. A provisional Government was formed, which occupied Rendsburg, a fortress commanding both Duchies, and organised the insurrection against Danish rule. The Danes collected an army and soon obtained possession of Schleswig, but the Prussians intervened, and the Danes were compelled to retire. On April 12th the provisional Government of Schleswig-Holstein was acknowledged by the Federal Diet, but the presence of a German fleet made energetic measures impossible, and the continuance of the struggle led to serious losses in the commerce of the North Sea. Russia, Sweden and Great Britain took the side of the Danes, and at length the Prussians were compelled to allow the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark.

Revolt in Prussian Poland.

The troubles of the new Diet were not confined to the north. The Polish inhabitants of the Prussian Province of Posen raised the flag of independence. The Prussians proposed to incorporate the German parts of Posen with the neighbouring German provinces, and to place the Polish moiety under a national Government, but the Poles claimed the whole of the territory and had recourse to arms. They were eventually compelled to yield, but the project of partitioning the country was given up.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST STRUGGLE FOR A NEW ITALY

Italy's Bid for Freedom.

THE Revolution of February, as has been said, caused a recrudescence of discontent in every country in Europe, even in those which had hitherto been unaffected by such sentiments. In Italy the desire for independence and national unity, which had long characterised its literature, now came to the surface and called the revolutionary spirit into activity. When Charles Albert, without a formal declaration of war, marched into the Milanese territory and drew the sword against Austria, the whole of the peninsula was seized with a longing for war. Not only did the Italian Governments send their troops and promise constitutions to their peoples, but bodies of armed volunteers took the field, so that the whole country was arrayed against Austria.

The House of Savoy Ascendant.

The revolutionary movement affected two parties—those who followed Mazzini, who aimed at the establishment of Republican institutions, and those who wished to join the Cross of Savoy, and to found the independence of Italy by union with Charles Albert, the constitutional King of Sardinia. The latter were, on the whole, the more powerful, and both Milan and Venice determined to throw in their lot with the House of Savoy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena, who had made alliances with Austria, were driven out of their Duchies, and even the Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose sympathies with the national aspirations were well known, and whose territories were admirably governed, had to surrender his Duchy for a time to democratical republicans. The Pope conceded a Constitution to his people and nominated a progressive Ministry, composed of laymen, but this popular Government had only to do with secular and political affairs; all clerical interests were left in the hands of the Pope and the cardinals, and were withdrawn from public discussion, a division of authority which did not satisfy popular sentiment. When Pius IX., in an allocution, declared himself opposed to a war with Austria, his popularity immediately disappeared. In Naples King Ferdinand II. played fast and loose with Constitutionalism, and Sicily exhausted herself in a vain attempt to secure an independent autonomy.

TROUBLE IN SICILY

A provisional Government had been formed in Sicily, under Ruggiero Settimo, Pietro Lanza and the Prince of Butera. Through the instrumentality of Lord Minto, they undertook negotiations with the King, which, however, led to no result. The utmost the Sicilians would consent to was the personal union of the crowns, and this Ferdinand would not accept. Sicily retained her independence and formed a Liberal Ministry, under the presidency of the historian Troya. The Sicilian National Assembly, divided into two Chambers under the presidency of Ruggiero Settimo, passed, on April 13th, a resolution that the throne of Sicily was vacant, and that Ferdinand Bourbon and his dynasty were for ever dethroned, and proclaimed for the island a constitutional monarchy under an Italian prince. **Sicily Secedes.**

The breach between the two Sicilies became irrevocable, when Ferdinand attempted to dissolve the Neapolitan Chambers on the very day of their opening, attacked the National Guard with his Swiss mercenaries, and delivered up the respectable population of the city to the wild excesses of his lazzaroni subjects. The King of Naples issued a proclamation announcing the continuance of the Constitution, but it was a mere delusion, as it was never put into force. An insurrection of Liberals in Calabria was suppressed with bloodshed, and when a few deputies met in July they were treated with abuse and contumely by the Minister Bozzeli, and in the autumn the sitting was closed by the King. In the following spring the Chambers were dissolved, and the persecution of Liberals and patriots resumed its former course. Naples submitted, but Sicily, with more persistence, continued its democratic progress. The two Chambers, the Senate and the Lower House, met together, and on July 11th, 1848, chose the second son of Charles Albert, Prince Albert Amadeus of Savoy, Duke of Genoa, as constitutional King of Sicily.

But the troubles of the island were not at an end. The news reached the camp of Charles Albert just as the sun of his success was setting, for he was on the point of resigning his crown to his son, Victor Emmanuel. Ferdinand determined to reconquer the island with the help of the garrison of Messina, which still held out. A terrible civil war was the result. For three days in the early part of September General Filangieri, who had served under Murat, bombarded Messina; the houses of the city were burnt, hundreds of dead bodies lay in the streets, and the population had to seek refuge on board the foreign ships in the harbour. From this action Ferdinand II. received the appropriate name of "King Bomba." By British and French intervention an **"King Bomba."**

arrangement was concluded, by which the eastern part of the island, with Messina as its capital, remained in the hands of Naples, and the western part, including Palermo, Catania and Syracuse, was left with a provisional Government, of which Ruggiero Settimo was president and Torrearsa, Butera and the brothers Amari were members.

Naples Victorious.

The efforts of France and Great Britain to produce a settlement during the winter had no effect, and in April, 1849, the struggle began anew. A Polish legion under Mieroslawski came to assist the Sicilians, but they could do nothing against the better-disciplined Neapolitan army, the head of which was the Royal Swiss Guard, and were defeated in the Battle of Catania on April 6th. The victorious Neapolitan army advanced first to Syracuse, and then to Palermo. The leaders of the Revolution fled to Malta, and the citizens submitted under promise of an amnesty. On May 14th the victorious army made its triumphal entry into the conquered town, and Filangieri, decorated with the title of Duke of Terracina, became Viceroy of Sicily.

Unpopularity of Pius IX.

We have already seen that Pope Pius IX. lost most of his popularity by his disapproval of the war against Austria. He did not recover his position by the proclamation of a Constitution on March 14th, 1848, and the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Italian States. His allocution, held before the cardinals on April 29th, which declared that in no circumstances would he make war against Austria, was regarded as the beginning of a reaction. In this case, what became of the Roman soldiers and volunteers which a Liberal Ministry had despatched across the Po under General Durando, to assist the Italians who were fighting for their independence? The Pope endeavoured to recover his popularity by recommending Mamiani, a layman, as Minister of State, and Farini as Secretary. But the patriots would be satisfied with nothing but war, although it was unreasonable to demand action from Pius IX., who was certainly not a Julius II.

Revolt Against the Papacy.

The feeling against the Papal See was accentuated by the refusal of Austria to mediate, and by the reactionary events in Sicily. The Pope now summoned to his councils Pellegrino Rossi of Carrara, an Italian political exile, naturalised in France. He had been educated at Geneva, had occupied important posts under Louis Philippe, and had been sent by Guizot as ambassador to the Vatican in the time of Gregory XVI. He did his best to restore order and good government, but his career was short. On the morning of November 15th, 1848, he drove to the Palace of the Cancellieri to assist in the opening of the new Parliament.

As he mounted the steps he was struck by a dagger in the throat. On this a tumult arose. The populace, led by Charles Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, nephew of the great Emperor, surrounded the Quirinal, and forced the Pope to appoint a Liberal Ministry. Mamiani was recalled and supported by Galletti and a well-tried democrat, Sterbini. The disorder increased. The Chamber of Deputies lost its authority and was so diminished by the desertion of its Ministers that it could hardly command a quorum. The Papal Swiss Guard was disarmed and dismissed, and its place taken by a Civil Guard of dubious fidelity. Many cardinals emigrated, and the Pope was a prisoner in his palace. Eventually, on November 24th, with the help of the Bavarian Ambassador, Count Spaun, he fled in disguise to Gaeta, where he formed a new Ministry and protested against the validity of everything that was being done in Rome.

The Rise of Garibaldi.

In February, 1849, a Constitutional Assembly met, which deprived the Papacy of its temporal power, established a Roman Republic, and determined to work for the establishment of a united Italy, under the form of a democratic republic. A triumvirate—consisting of Mazzini, Saffi and Ammellini—was placed at the head of affairs, but the whole power was in the hands of Mazzini. Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of the purest and truest spirits that ever took part in political affairs, who gave his assistance, was afterwards to play a leading part in the liberation of his country, and was especially notable for the self-command and wisdom by which, himself a Republican, he saw that the salvation of Italy lay in its adhesion to the House of Savoy. He had begun his career in America, and had afterwards commanded a body of volunteers to assist the Piedmontese and Lombards in their struggle against Austria. The failure of the campaign in Northern Italy sent him to Rome. He regarded the Holy City as the last refuge of liberty and the best centre for future efforts.

The Pope Appeals to the Powers.

In his distress the Pope called upon the Powers of Europe to help him. The Austrians, after hard fighting, gained possession of Bologna and Ancona, the Neapolitans invaded the Papal territory from the south, and a French army under General Oudinot landed at Civita Vecchia and besieged Rome. The French declared that they came as friends to restore order and peace, to prevent the occupation of the States of the Church by Austrians and Neapolitans, and to check the possibility of a counter-revolution. But the Roman patriots rejected these advances and offered a stern resistance to the French army. The first attack of the French failed. Oudinot suffered severe loss and had to

retire to the coast to await reinforcements. A week's armistice was declared, which Garibaldi used to attack the Neapolitan troops at Velletri and to drive them across the frontier.

The French in Rome.

The intervention of France in the affairs of Rome produced an unfavourable effect in Paris. The demand for a credit for the purpose, made by Odilon Barrot, was opposed by a large minority, and when the news of Oudinot's reverse arrived the Social Democrats made it the occasion of a fresh demonstration. On May 28th, 1849, the new Legislative Assembly had met for the first time with de Tocqueville, the famous publicist, as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Under him the enterprise went on. Negotiations with Oudinot failed, and the siege continued. It was not till July 3rd that, after many a bloody conflict, the French troops became masters of the city. The barricades were thrown down, the provisional Government was deposed, and a military despotism was established in its place.

Flight of the Revolutionists.

Garibaldi managed to cross the Apennines and reach Genoa by sea, after which he retired to America. The larger portion of his followers fell into the hands of the Austrians. Some were shot, others were imprisoned in Mantua, and among these was Ciceruacchio, who was afterwards shot with his young son. Mazzini fled first to Switzerland, and then to London, where he carried on his liberating work. Pius IX. remained sulkily in Gaeta and did not return to his ungrateful capital till June, 1850. Order was preserved in Rome by the French garrison, which had its headquarters in the Castle of St. Angelo, but the condition of Italy was insecure, and the country was overrun by brigands.

Revolution in Tuscany.

As already mentioned, Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, attempted to meet the wishes of his subjects by the passing of reforms, the expulsion of the Jesuits, and even by taking part, against his will, in the campaign against Austria. But this did not satisfy the extreme spirits, and a Constitutional Assembly was summoned to meet on February 8th, 1849. The disorder became worse, and the Grand Duke was compelled to leave Tuscany. A Republic was established in Florence, Guerazzi and Montanelli being placed at the head of the provisional Government. The revolutionary spirit was still more active in Leghorn, which was an occasional residence of Mazzini. However, on April 11th, a moderate Government was formed under Gino Capponi and the brothers Ricasoli, and the Grand Duke, who also had taken refuge in Gaeta, was invited to return; but he refused to do so till July 27th, when the Austrians had taken Leghorn. Guerazzi had to spend many years in prison. The worst prince in Italy was

Francis X., Duke of Modena, though Charles, Duke of Parma, was not much better. They were absolutely devoted to Austria, and, when driven from their estates, took refuge with her armies and shared her defeat and her final triumph. When Radetzky recaptured Milan they were able to return.

"The Sword of Italy."

If such were the fate of the Papacy and the Duchies, still more tragic was the career of Charles Albert, King of Piedmont and Sardinia, who had received from his admirers the title of "the Sword of Italy." Having given a Constitution to his country and appointed Cesare Balbo as Prime Minister, he conceived the idea of liberating the nation of Italy from Austrian domination by a military advance. A provisional Government was established in Milan on March 18th, and after an obstinate struggle in the streets old Marshal Radetzky, eighty-two years of age, was compelled to leave the city. Similarly, Count Zichy, commandant at Venice, had capitulated to the patriots.

Success of Charles Albert.

Charles Albert now advanced to the Mincio, and on April 8th, 1848, won the Battle of Goito, and threatened Peschiera, a fortress at the south of the Lake of Garda, which, with Verona, Mantua and Legnano, formed the famous Quadrilateral. Combats took place in the hilly country near Pastrengo. Italian volunteers advanced into Italian Tirol, to wrest their country from Austria. The Italian flag of red, white and green, the loveliest tricolour in the world—the emblem of energy, purity and hope—was everywhere seen. Mantua and Verona remained faithful to their German lords; but Modena, Parma, Florence, Rome and Naples obeyed the summons to unity. The King of Piedmont marched at the head of his troops, accompanied by Balbo, La Marmora and Torelli. The struggle took the character of a religious war, the priests, with the Archbishop of Milan at their head, being on the Liberal side and giving the blessing of the Church to the enterprise. The volunteers wore red crosses, as if they were Crusaders.

Radetzky's Revenge.

The scene, however, was soon changed. While the Italians were celebrating this triumph, Radetzky in Verona was preparing his revenge. On May 6th, 1848, his eighty-second birthday, a battle was fought at Santa Lucia, not far from Verona, in which the Austrians held their ground against the superior numbers of their enemies. The tide of fortune began to turn, and the advance of Charles Albert was stayed. He was himself dismayed at the Republican tendencies of the provisional Government in Milan, at the rising democracy of France, already aiming at the acquisition of Savoy and Nice, at the dissensions of his own followers,

and at the intrigues of the Mazzinists. He doubted of the success of his enterprise, and began to wish for peace. An Austrian army came down from Carinthia, and, after a slight hindrance at Vicenza, joined Radetzky at Venice. The Papal troops, who had invaded Venetia, offered little resistance, especially after Durando's authority had been impaired by the Papal allocution. Mantua was at this time besieged by a Tuscan army, but the victory of Curtatone, on May 29th, enabled the aged field-marshal to relieve the fortress. Charles Albert, however, on the following day gained a success for the second time at Goito, which placed the fortress of Peschiera in his hands. But he did not know how to use his victory.

Austria Victorious.

Radetzky began his advance by the capture, on June 11th, of Vicenza, which had long withstood the assaults of Austria, being defended by Durando, with the help of Azeglio and Cialdini. The Papal troops and the volunteers were allowed to depart, and throngs of citizens followed them. In July the insurgents of Venice and Milan succeeded in persuading their adherents to make common cause with Piedmont, and place themselves under a Savoyard king, thus raising the hopes of a free and united Italy. But before the end of the month the brilliant victory gained by Radetzky at Custozza dashed their hopes to the ground. Not content with this triumph, he passed on, and at the beginning of August stood before the gates of Milan. On August 6th he made a solemn entry into the capital of Lombardy. Charles Albert left the town secretly during the night, and on August 9th accepted the amnesty of Vigevano. Radetzky used his victory with moderation. No acts of severity took place, but the town was deserted, and the palaces of the Milanese nobles were filled with Austrian troops. Garibaldi, after making a short stand in the neighbourhood of Como, withdrew into Switzerland, and afterwards, as we have seen, went to Rome.

Charles Albert Abdicates.

But the war between Sardinia and Austria was not at an end. The successes of the revolutionary party at Verona filled the Italian patriots with new hopes. But attempts of friendly Powers to bring about an understanding had no success; and a congress, which it was proposed to assemble at Brussels, never met. Charles Albert, driven to despair, determined to try once more the fortune of arms. In March a fresh Sardinian army crossed the frontier, but after a four days' campaign was completely routed at Novara, on March 23rd, 1849, the Austrian victory ending the aspirations of Piedmont. Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, and, seeking a refuge in Portugal, died at Oporto

on July 28th, full of confidence that the final liberation of Italy was bound up with the fortunes of his House. Victor Emmanuel made peace with Austria, and, still preserving the Constitution, which, once given, was never withdrawn, he was able to effect the triumph of his country by peaceful paths of progressive development.

The Fall of Venice.

The defeat at Novara produced a disastrous effect on the fortunes of Venice. The union with the monarchy of Piedmont had to be abandoned, and a republic was established by the influence of Daniele Manin. The Austrians obtained possession of the fortress of Malghera in the Lagoons on May 27th, but the position of the city, amidst its defences, was so strong that they could not get any further, and it held out for months. It was not till August 20th, 1849, that Radetzky was able to enter Venice in triumph. Manin fled to Paris, where he lived as a teacher of languages till 1857. Ten years later his ashes were brought back to his native town and a monument was raised to him by international subscription.

After the fall of Milan and Venice the Double Eagle brooded anew over the Lombard and Venetian kingdoms, and the Italian tricolour was seen in Sardinia alone. But the struggle had done good to the Italian cause. The Italians were no longer the objects of the sarcasm and laughter of the civilised world. They had shown themselves capable of fighting for their liberties and, though they had not obtained them, it was felt that the day was near when they would bear the cause of freedom to a triumphal issue.

CHAPTER IX

HUNGARY: THE EFFORT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Reforms in Hungary.

THE year 1848 destroyed, in Hungary, the feudal monarchy, controlled by Estates, which had existed for several hundreds of years. The Hungarian Diet decreed the abolition of all the burdens and contributions of the peasants, without compensation to those to whom they were paid. It made all classes subject to taxes, and established freedom of the Press, publicity in the law courts, trial by jury, and a liberal franchise on a democratic basis. The Austrian Government, itself hard pressed, made no efforts to resist these innovations; but, on the contrary, declared its willingness to make sacrifices to secure the contentment of the Hungarian nation. But the Magyar party thought the time had come to restore the Hungarian kingdom in its greatness and independence, and desired that the tie between the two monarchies, which are divided by the river Leitha (hence called the Cisleithan and the Transleithan monarchies) should be that of a personal union.

The Government of Vienna yielded on some points, but remained firm on others. In March, 1848, it recognised a Liberal Government, of which Count Louis Batthyani was the head and Louis Kossuth the most influential member, but desired to keep questions of finance and war in its own hands. It also asked that the Magyars should accept parts of the State Debt, and pay a certain contribution to the common expenses of administration.

Slavs *v.* Magyars.

The Austrians found themselves unexpectedly assisted by the South Slavonic races—the Croatians, Slavonians and others—which, having a deep-rooted dislike to the Magyars, had also aspirations of forming themselves into a Panslavic community, under the Austrian Empire, but entirely separated from Hungary. The Transylvanian tribes objected to assisting Hungary to attain independence, and this country found itself standing alone, without the aid of the subject races that had formerly supported it. The races which occupied the country from the Carpathians to the Save and the Danube were each desirous of obtaining its own freedom. The Magyars, who had been accustomed to employ the Latin language in public affairs, now insisted upon the use

of their own tongue, one of the most difficult languages in Europe, with few or no analogies to any other. A concession made to the Croatians, that they might use their own language, which is practically Servian written in Latin characters, came too late to remove the deep-seated canker of national hatred. The Foreign Office in Vienna was assailed at the same time by two conflicting deputations—one asking that the three kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, together with the military families, might be formed into an independent State, having nothing to do with the Magyars; and the other urging the integrity of the Hungarian kingdom, with all its subject populations.

Outbreak of the Slavs.

The Austrian Government well understood how to play off these contending forces against each other, and did not, therefore, desire to gratify the wishes of either. At this time the Ban of Croatia, as the ruler of that country was called, was Jellachich, a violent enemy of the Hungarians, but much beloved and appreciated by the Austrian Court. The Hungarians endeavoured to soothe his stubborn spirit, but in vain; they tried to remove him from his post, but the Emperor clung firmly to his friend. The territory of Sirmium, in south-east Hungary, is a marshy land, intersected by walls and ditches, which mark the ruins of the Roman capital. It is inhabited by wild peoples, with strange, outlandish names, mostly of Slavonic origin. They now joined with the Croatians to establish a government independent of Hungary. The outbreak of the war was marked by acts of savagery. On Easter Monday a rising took place in the little town of Kikinda, and soon spread to the neighbouring districts. The Servians and the wild occupants of the surrounding frontiers laid waste the plains watered by the Theiss and the Danube. Neusatz, Karlowitz, Pancsova, Weisskirchen were the scenes of revolting cruelties and undisciplined raids. Anarchical uproar, coupled with a remorseless war of races, filled the whole country for months. Matters were made worse by the rising of the Czechs in Prague. The rising was not suppressed till August, when the Austrian army became masters of the lines of St. Thomas and the town of Weisskirchen.

But the deep breach between Slav and Magyar was not filled. The Slavs were at least Aryans, or Indo-Germans; they belonged to that division of the human family from which all civilisation has proceeded. But the origin of the Hungarians was obscure: they were part of a Mongolian race, and their language was Turanian, like Turkish or Chinese. The Slavs looked down upon them as an Asiatic horde, and when, in September, 1848, Jellachich

raised the standard of Croatian independence and crossed the Drave, he was supported by the Court of Vienna and the revolutionary party in the capital. He issued a manifesto, in which he declared that his object was to protect the rights of his nation and to support the Austrian monarchy, which was threatened by the selfish obstinacy of the Hungarians. He desired to free Hungary itself from the hands of a faction. Jellachich marched without resistance to Lake Balaton. As the Hungarian army was commanded by Austrian officers, whose sympathies were with Jellachich, it offered only a weak resistance. Approaching the Government of Vienna, the Hungarians found but little encouragement and were gradually driven back to rely on their own resources.

Kossuth Takes the Lead.

Kossuth put himself at the head of the Hungarian movement. His fiery eloquence stirred the crowds whom he addressed, a national army was created, and a violent national war was begun. The Grand Duke Stephen resigned his office of Palatine of Hungary. Batthyani and Eötvös also gave up their posts, and the direction of affairs came into the hands of Kossuth and his friends. On September 28th, 1848, Count Lamberg, the commander of the Hungarian army, was murdered on the bridge of boats which at that time connected Pest with Buda. A Hungarian magnate, he had been sent to Pest as a superior authority to Jellachich, but Kossuth forbade any part of the Hungarian army to acknowledge his command, and, while driving to Buda in a hackney carriage, he was fallen upon by an excited mob and brutally done to death. This murder really strengthened the authority of Jellachich, and so did the fact that Count Zichy, who acted as Imperial Commissary in the army of Jellachich, was strangled by the orders of Görgei as a traitor to the Hungarian cause; the treasure which he had accumulated was appropriated, so that Jellachich obtained the whole command over the Imperial troops in Hungary and in the neighbouring districts.

The Emperor Leaves Vienna.

Vienna itself now requested assistance, but the part played in the contest by Slav and Magyar respectively is but little known. On October 7th the Emperor left Vienna and retired to the fortress of Olmütz. Two days later the army of Jellachich reached the frontier town of Borek, on the Leitha; he rapidly occupied the hills and the city with his troops, and on October 13th was at Schönbrunn. The rumour that the Magyars intended to rescue the city of St. Stephen from the Slavs had no foundation. It is said that on two occasions the Hungarian troops crossed the Leitha and that once they returned. It was, however, determined that Vienna should be occupied, not by Jellachich, but by

Windischgrätz. He began the bombardment of Vienna on October 28th, and on October 30th the decisive battle took place at Schwechat, in which the Hungarians were completely defeated. On the following day Vienna was entirely in the hands of the Imperial troops, and the black-and-yellow flag again floated from the spire of St. Stephen's. The result was the abdication of the Emperor in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph.

Kossuth's Victorious Progress.

The change, however, was not accepted by the Hungarians. Kossuth brought together a national army of 200,000 men in the valley of the Theiss, and prepared to do battle against the black-and-yellow flag. On December 15th Prince Windischgrätz set out for the reconquest of Hungary. He captured, without difficulty, the towns of Odenburg, Pressburg, and Raab and then advanced in eight divisions against the capital, Budapest. He reached his objective at the beginning of the new year, 1849, and refused offers of accommodation. In the night of January 4th–5th Kossuth went to Debreczin, carrying with him the crown of St. Stephen, the regalia of the Hungarian monarchy, and a press for the printing of bank-notes. He was also accompanied by the Deputies of the Diet and the Committee of National Defence. On January 5th Windischgrätz and Jellachich entered the two towns and sent their keys as an offering to the new Emperor.

Civil War in Transylvania.

In the meantime the struggle was raging against the Slavs at Pancsova and in Transylvania. This country is one of the most interesting in Europe, both from its natural features and from the variety of races which inhabit it. Here is a settlement of pure Germans, there a village of Roumanians, with their handsome features, picturesque dresses, Sunday national dances, and the patriarchal disposition of the land. Of these some desired political independence, with a Parliament at Klausenburg, others wished to preserve an indelible union with the Austrian monarchy. As time went on, the Roumanians, Wallachians and Saxons became more bitter against the Magyars, and felt greater devotion to the Double Eagle.

Civil war broke out. The Szekler hussars and the Hungarian infantry devastated the fields and pastures of the Saxons; the Roumanians were guilty of still worse excesses, and the peace-loving Saxons, unable to protect themselves, summoned an Austrian army under General Puchner to their assistance. Every valley of that beautiful country seethed with the excesses of national hatred, and the Austrians had no need to learn the lesson of ruling by division. The war took a more civilised character in

January, 1849, when General Bem became commander of the Hungarian army in Transylvania. He did his best to unite the Slavs and the Roumanians with the Magyars in a common effort against their common foe, and to mitigate the rage of the Wallachs and the Szeklers. The result was unfortunate for the Saxons, who clung closely to the Austrian monarchy. Of their three principal towns, Kronstadt and Klausenburg fell into the hands of the Magyars, while Hermannstadt was hard pressed. In their embarrassment the Austrians sought assistance from the Russians, who had been hanging for some time on the Wallachian frontier. On the last day of January the Russian general, Engelhardt, entered Transylvania with 6,000 men and twenty cannon, and took possession of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt after a considerable struggle.

Integrity of Hungary.

The Austrian Government now agreed that, when Budapest was taken and placed under military law, the war was at an end. Jellachich was made Governor of Dalmatia, keeping his position as Ban of Croatia, and steps were taken for separating Servia and Transylvania from the Hungarian monarchy. This, however, was not accepted by the patriots, and a war broke out for the preservation of the integrity of the Hungarian kingdom, a war which was more violent than the struggle that had preceded it.

Görgei and Kossuth.

Arthur von Görgei now became prominent, a man of mysterious and enigmatical character. He came of a German Protestant family and, in 1849, took service with the National Guard in Hungary. He had many enemies, and was especially disliked by Kossuth, who regarded him as a German rather than as a patriot, and a soldier rather than a politician. The Hungarian cause was also assisted by Polish exiles, such as Dembinski and Bem, who hoped to be able to do something for the advantage of their own country. Other distinguished generals were Perczel and Klapka. Kossuth used his printing press to make Hungarian banknotes to the value of 70,000,000 of florins. These generals were, as a rule, very jealous of each other and were always quarrelling. The first great event was the Battle of Kapolna, which lasted two days—February 26th and 27th, 1849. It was reckoned as a defeat for the Hungarians, but it might have been a victory if Görgei, in his jealousy of Dembinski, had not appeared on the field too late to make it one. The result was that the whole of Western Hungary fell into Austrian hands. On the other hand, Bem was successful in Transylvania. The Russians were driven out of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt and had to retire over the frontier; Puchner was followed by Bem into Wallachia.

Windischgrätz was determined to strike a serious blow and to crush the insurgent army in the valley of the Theiss. But his schemes failed; the passages over the Theiss were stoutly and successfully defended. Schlick was driven back by Dembinski, Jellachich was repelled at various points, and the fortress of Komorn was able to preserve its "virgin" character of never having yielded to an enemy. Easter witnessed continual conflicts in the field of Rakos, in the neighbourhood of Budapest, which was the place of election of the Hungarian kings. On April 19th, 1849, Görgei defeated the Austrian general, Wohlgemüth, at Nagy-Sarlo, and relieved Komorn, where the black flag of independence still floated proudly from the battlements.

Görgei Victorious.

We now reach the crowning point of Hungarian success. Windischgrätz was recalled by the Court of Olmütz, and Welden appointed in his place. On April 23rd, 1849, the Austrians evacuated Pest; they burned the bridge of boats which connected it with Ofen, in order to secure the garrison, which still occupied that fortress, from attack. The Magyars entered their capital amidst popular rejoicings. Two days later the army which was besieging Komorn was forced to retire, and on May 3rd Görgei appeared on the heights above Buda with a well-seasoned army. The place was bravely defended by General Hentzi, a Swiss, who threw up batteries and entrenchments, and made every preparation for an obstinate resistance. On May 21st Ofen was set on fire by red-hot cannon balls, and a strong wind completed the destruction of the town; but it was defended street by street, house by house, and room by room. Hentzi perished in the conflict, but his companions were made prisoners of war. The Austrian army retreated to Pressburg. The Magyars also gained successes in the south. On April 14th the Parliament at Debreczin had proclaimed the independence of Hungary, and a provisional Government with Kossuth at its head. This step towards a republic excited the anger of Görgei, who refused to obey the orders of Kossuth, and acted henceforth on his own initiative.

Hungarian Independence Proclaimed.

In their embarrassment the Austrians again turned to Russia for assistance. The young Kaiser met the Tsar at Warsaw on May 21st, the very day that Görgei stormed Ofen. Unless energetic measures were adopted Austria would be reduced to the rank of a second-rate Power, while the fact that so many Poles were engaged in the struggle on the Hungarian side was a danger to the Russian Empire. Arrangements were completed between the Sovereigns before the end of the month. Paskevich was to cross the Hungarian frontier by Cracow and Dunkla. General

Austria Asks for Russian Assistance.

Haynau, a man of ruthless severity, was to advance from the east, and Jellachich was to command an expedition from the south. No alternative was left the Hungarians but to submit or fight to the bitter end.

Kossuth's Drastic Plan.

Kossuth, determined upon the second course, strained every nerve to rouse his people to every kind of sacrifice in the cause of freedom and independence. The invading armies had great difficulties to contend with. The conditions of land and climate fought for the Hungarians, as they fought for the Russians in 1812. There were no military roads, and rain made the ways impossible both for men and animals. Days of oppressive heat alternated with nights of frost, and both were equally dangerous to health. The fever-stricken marshes of the Theiss had a deadly effect on the Austrians and Russians. By the orders of Kossuth the country was turned into a desert and no supplies were forthcoming. The Hungarians had been accustomed to warfare from their childhood, and were more than a match for the rude German levies.

The Hungarians Defeated.

The beginning of the war was favourable to the allied forces. Görgei was defeated by Wohlgemüth and Haynau, and had to take refuge under the walls of Komorn. On July 12th the Austrians again entered Budapest. Paskevich raided the streets with his Cossacks from Gödöllö, and Haynau revelled in those shameless atrocities which afterwards secured an appropriate punishment when he was flogged out of Barclay and Perkins' brewery in London by the indignant draymen. Anyone who had any of Kossuth's notes in his possession was punished with death, which was a special hardship, because up to that time they had been accepted even in public offices.

Surrender of Görgei.

Jellachich had similar success in the south, and effected the crossing of the Theiss. On July 1 Bem succeeded in taking possession of Arad, and Jellachich was driven to retreat. It is not necessary to follow the vicissitudes of the campaign in detail. The interest of Europe was concentrated round the fortress of Arad, where both Kossuth and Görgei were present. What happened between them is a matter of dispute. Kossuth, after burying the crown of St. Stephen at Orsova, where its place of concealment is still shown, passed into Turkey. Görgei remained master of the situation and capitulated to General Rudiger in Vilâgos on August 13th. Görgei was allowed to spend the rest of his life at Klagenfurt, while his supporters were, for the most part, executed. Kossuth always declared him to be a traitor, but how far this charge is justified will probably never be known.

His own account of his life and activities is not a very trustworthy document.

The Patriots Crushed.

Komorn, commanded by Klapka, did not surrender till September 27th, 1849, and with it ended the Hungarian War, heroic in its origin and conduct, tragic in its conclusion. Paskevich sent a message to Francis Joseph, "Hungary lies at the feet of your Majesty." The punishment of the authors of the rising was severe. The most guilty of them were either hanged or shot in Pest. The latter fate overtook Count Louis Batthyani and the aged Perenyi, President of the Upper House. Towns, villages and country-seats were laid in ruins. Two years later Kossuth went to England, where he was received with enthusiasm. The Holy Crown of St. Stephen, which he had concealed at Orsova, was exhumed in 1853 and restored to the Emperor. But the relations between Austria and Hungary remained strained, and, indeed, long continued so.

CHAPTER X

THE COUP D'ÉTAT

Revolutionary Europe.

THE two revolutionary years 1848 and 1849 had left the countries of Europe in a condition of exhaustion. In Italy the efforts to obtain unity, which had been the dream of three hundred years, had entirely failed. In Hungary the struggles of a vigorous and energetic nation to raise itself to a position of independence in the European family had met with disaster, and it was necessary to begin over again. In Germany the strength of the nation had been exhausted in constitutional struggles which produced no result; the Germans had not learnt that the solution of their difficulties lay, not in oratory or in literature, but in blood and iron. Europe was full of political exiles, fortresses were crowded with political prisoners, civilisation suffered, morals were corrupted. Statesmen had lost their clearness of vision, and could see neither the object to be aimed at nor the method of obtaining it.

Decline of France.

France was in a particularly unhappy state. She had entirely lost the supremacy in European affairs which once belonged to her. She was not in as bad a condition as that in which she was left by the Revolution of 1789, but there was a similarity in the two results. The foundations of civilisation, of family, of property, and of personal freedom were being attacked by a wild and undisciplined proletariat. The fundamental conditions of all government, security of life and property, could not be preserved without an active struggle. It was evident that the new Prince-President was not satisfied with the existing state of things, and that he intended to take a line of his own. He had obvious sympathies with the Clerical and Conservative parties, and did not choose his Ministers from the groups possessing a majority in the Assembly. Odilon Barrot became Prime Minister, Drouyn de l'Huys Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Falloux, a Legitimist, supported by the Abbé Dupanloup, Minister of Education. The complexion of the Cabinet was mainly Orleanist.

On January 29th, 1849, the Constituent Assembly voted its own dissolution, and agreed to retire as soon as it passed laws for regulating the Council of State, the responsibility of the Executive,

an electoral law, and a budget. The Conservative party began to organise itself in view of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. A Committee was formed, entitled " Union Electoral," which met in the Rue de Poitiers. It contained men of different ideals, Thiers, a Royalist, Faucher, Barrot and Dufaure, Lucien Murat and Louis Bonaparte, who were Bonapartists, and Falloux. Their common cause was to defend the Church of Rome, and Montalembert placed himself at the head of the association, in order that liberty might unite with the Church for the safety of society. Falloux then promised to get a law passed which gave the control of education to the Church.

The Pope Ignores France.

Ministers now had to determine what they should do with regard to Rome. Cavaignac had offered assistance to the Pope, but the Pontiff preferred to retire to Gaeta, whence he appealed for assistance to Europe and to the Catholic Powers other than France. This did not suit the French, or the Ministers of the Prince-President. But it was not easy to act. By the terms of the Constitution which they had sworn to uphold they were forbidden to interfere in quarrels between a Sovereign and his people. Besides, Louis Napoleon in 1833 had fought in Rome for the concessions which the Pope now declined to grant. Drouyn de l'Huys proposed that a congress should be held in the dominions of the King of Sardinia, who was a Catholic and a Liberal. But the defeat of Novara, in 1848, prevented this, and drove the French to more energetic measures. Falloux, in the name of the Catholics, prepared for some definite action. At length representatives of France were sent to join those of the other Catholic States in Gaeta, and Drouyn de l'Huys advised his master to dispatch an army corps to Italy.

French Defeat.

The execution of this very delicate enterprise was entrusted to General Oudinot. He received instructions to refrain from attacking the rebels; at the same time he was to contribute to the establishment of order. The French troops disembarked at Civita Vecchia on April 25th, 1849. The Romans did not know whether they had come to defend them against the Austrians and Neapolitans, or to restore the power of the Papacy. Oudinot soon had to make a choice of alternatives. Five days after his arrival he risked an attack upon the city and was defeated. The news of this event caused dismay to the Republican party, and joy in the Rue de Poitiers. In the Chambers the action of Oudinot was condemned by a large majority, and Drouyn de l'Huys was compelled to suspend operations against the Roman Republic. But by this defeat French military honour had been insulted

and it had to be avenged. The Prince-President announced that this was his duty.

Rome Captured.

The elections of May, 1849, gave success to the Rue de Poitiers. The moderate Republicans received little support, but the Social Democrats were strongly represented. Ledru Rollin was elected in four departments by 2,000,000 votes. On May 27th the Constituent Assembly was formally dissolved. The French Government, anxious to find a middle term in their difficulties, had sent Ferdinand de Lesseps, the creator of the Suez Canal, a practised and conciliatory diplomat, to Rome, to arrange matters, if possible, between the Roman people and the Pope. But with the claim of military honour, on the one hand, to avenge defeat, and the determination of Mazzini and Garibaldi, on the other, to defend the city against attack, his task was by no means easy. However, just when Lesseps had signed an agreement with the Roman Republic, to the effect that the French army should be allowed to enter Rome on condition that it respected the rights of the nation, he was summarily recalled by Drouyn de l'Huys, and Oudinot received orders to take the city by assault. Oudinot began the siege on June 3rd, 1849, and finished it on June 30th. A solemn Te Deum was sung at St. Peter's to celebrate the victory of France over the Roman Republic and the unconditional restoration of pontifical authority.

Growth of the Clerical Party.

The Catholic party was now strong enough to suppress or impede public demonstrations, and the strength of the agitation was transferred to the Press. Foremost among the political newspapers of a Liberal complexion were the *National*, edited by Jules Simon, *L'Evénement*, supported by Victor Hugo, and *La Presse*, directed by Émile de Girardin, together with *Le Siècle* and *La République*. In consequence of these journalistic efforts the power of the Republican opposition grew.

France was divided between two powerful conflicting parties, the Catholic Conservatives and the Democratic Republicans, and the Prince-President had to feel his way between the two and devise an independent policy. He did not desire to lose his influence with either party. He posed as the supporter of order, despite the democratic Press and the Protestants, but did not wish to become the servant of the Church. What he possibly had in his mind was the settlement which his uncle had always aimed at, and particularly desired, the establishment of a democratic Empire. He appointed Liberal Ministers of great distinction, de Tocqueville, Lanjuinais, and Dufaure, who became Minister of the Interior. He attempted to persuade the Pope to adopt

Liberal reforms, but received a doubtful answer and a shadowy promise. The Catholics were not satisfied with this, and said that it would be an obvious piece of inconsistency to force the will of a Sovereign whose independence they were engaged in vindicating. The Assembly approved by a large majority of the expeditionary corps remaining unconditionally at Rome, in the Pope's service.

Napoleon's Change of Ministers.

The President now created a new Ministry, containing some names which continued to be connected with him during the rest of his career. Rouher was made Minister of Justice and Fould Minister of Finance. Rouher was the most energetic of the new servants of Napoleon, and carried on an active crusade against the Republicans. His subordinates were ordered to gain information every month with regard to the organisation of the Democratic party, its newspapers, its societies, and all its dealings. An attempt was made by Parieu, Minister of Education, to centralise instruction under the Prefects, but this gave way to the famous Act of Falloux, passed on March 15th, 1850, which charged the State with the burden of providing national education, but, at the same time, placed it, to a great extent, under the influence of the Church. Four archbishops, elected by their colleagues, were installed as the governing body of the University, to inspect programmes of lectures, examine books and inquire into abuses. Two priests, one of them a bishop, were placed on the provincial academic councils to supervise the masters, and the parish priests acquired the right of inspecting their parish schools. In March, 1850, Baroche was made Minister of the Interior. He had come into notice by opposing first Guizot and then the Republicans. These three, Rouher, Fould and Baroche, to whom Morny was afterwards added, became the devoted Ministers of the second Empire.

Revision of the Franchise.

The campaign against the Republicans as the enemies of order was prosecuted with persistence, if not with vigour. Baroche set himself to rectify universal suffrage, as it was called, and accordingly those who had not resided for three years in one place, or had taken part in clubs or in secret societies, or been convicted before a political tribunal, were deprived of the franchise. House-to-house distribution of books and pamphlets, and political meetings and banquets were forbidden. These and other measures were necessary for the establishment of good government, and are comparable to the steps taken by Napoleon Bonaparte when he became First Consul. But the policy was interpreted by the Republicans as a step towards the re-establishment of the Empire, and this opinion may have unduly influenced them. Of the two

great forces of which government is composed, it is difficult to regulate *libertas* without exaggerating *imperium*.

The Empire Foreshadowed.

By the beginning of 1851 it became nearly certain that there would be an Empire; the question was whether it would come into existence by legality or by violence. Article 45 of the Constitution forbade the re-election of the President after five years of office. If, therefore, the Prince were to continue President, the Constitution would have to be revised. There was a majority in the Chamber for the revision of the Constitution in this respect. But a simple majority was not enough. A majority of three-fourths was necessary and more than a quarter were obstinate Republicans. On July 8th, de Tocqueville opened the debate in favour of revision, but Victor Hugo declared that not a single Republican would vote for it, and on July 19th the project was thrown out by nearly 100 votes. A deputy remarked: "The Constitution will not be revised; it can only be said to have ceased to exist."

Napoleon now made preparations for action of a different character. He summoned to Paris St. Arnaud, Magnan and Fleury, young officers from Africa, who could assist him in a *coup d'état*. He took Maupas and Morny, men of unscrupulous devotion to his cause, further into his confidence, and the question how the revolution was to be carried out seems to have been discussed between them and Caslier, the Prefect of Police, at St. Cloud between August 11th and September 9th. Napoleon himself was undecided; he was divided between the alternatives of establishing his power on a firm basis and losing all his power if he took no risk.

Napoleon's Daring Move.

At last he resolved that he must dare everything. On the morning of December 2nd, 1851, the walls of Paris were covered with a proclamation announcing that the Assembly was dissolved, and the electors were to meet between December 14th and 21st, to decide about the revision of the Constitution. In this hopeless deadlock the President turned from the impracticable Chamber to the voice of the people. At the same time the garrison of Paris was under arms. The Parliament House was occupied by two regiments of the line. But, what was grossly illegal, and an unpardonable outrage on the liberties of the country, a number of deputies, Royalist as well as Republican, had been arrested early in the morning and carried off to prison. Among them were Changarnier, Lamoricière, Cavaignac and Thiers.

Those attacked defended themselves. Under Berryer 200 deputies met for a last sitting and proclaimed the fall of Louis Napoleon and the continuance of the Assembly. At the order

of Maupas, General Forey cleared the hall, and the courageous asserters of constitutional principles were marched off to prison between two lines of soldiers.

Vigorous Anti-Republican Measures.

Some Republican representatives adopted even stronger measures than did the deputies to secure their rights. A committee of opposition, which contained the names of Carnot, Jules Favre and Victor Hugo, decided on a popular rising in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine on December 3rd. But nothing happened till the evening, when, between seven o'clock and midnight, St. Arnaud cleared the Boulevards with considerable and indiscriminate slaughter. Morny was now established as Minister of the Interior. He did everything to arouse the enthusiasm of the country for the coming plebiscite. He stimulated his prefects and sub-prefects by ardent dispatches. He authorised them, after December 4th, to replace *juges de paix*, mayors, and schoolmasters, whose loyalty was not certain, by such as could be depended upon, and forbade them to allow a single newspaper to appear of which he had not seen the proofs. On December 7th and 8th a list of proscriptions was drawn up, probably the most terrible of any known in history. The members of the political Opposition, whether Legitimists, or Monarchists, or Republicans, were incarcerated by hundreds in prisons and fortresses. Thousands were deported to the deadly climate of Cayenne, which earned for itself the name of the "bloodless guillotine." In Paris up to December 4th the number of arrests amounted to 2,100, and they continued during the following days. In the Department of La Meurthe nearly 5,000 of the Republicans were arrested.

The Eagle Reappears.

On December 21st, 1851, the plebiscite took place, and France decided by 7,500,000 votes against 640,000 to delegate to the Prince-President the right of drawing up the Constitution. This victory was celebrated by a solemn Te Deum at Notre Dame, on January 1st, 1852. The President installed himself at the Tuileries, and the eagle of the Empire appeared once more on the standards of France. It cannot be denied that when a revision of the Constitution was obstinately refused by a great portion of the Chamber vigorous action was necessary. For Napoleon to have surrendered the Presidency would have thrown the country back into hopeless confusion, and made it the prey of warring factions. But some means of effecting this could have been found other than the commission of monstrous crimes, for such were the imprisonment of the deputies on December 2nd, the shooting down of the populace in the streets, and the deportations which followed. Those deeds tainted the new Government with

an indelible stain. Those who were punished and their friends never forgot the injury, and even those who supported the change lamented the means by which it had been brought about.

Napoleon's Vicious Methods.

Tacitus says that no government founded on crime can be a permanent success, and this saying was often referred to during the triumphs of the Empire. For some two years after the Crimean War Louis Napoleon became, to an extent which it is difficult for the present age to realise, the most commanding figure in Europe. But throughout this splendid position the vice of the Empire's origin was never forgotten, nor the despicable character of the Emperor's *entourage*, which had little object in view except to profit by the spoils. When the Emperor was driven from Sedan to Bouillon, a defeated prince in abasement and tears, those who saw him felt pity for his misfortunes, but admitted at the same time that the punishment long delayed was not undeserved, and that the mills of God may grind slowly but they grind exceeding small.

Persecution continued after the declaration of the plebiscite. By the decree of January 9th, eighteen deputies, of whom six were Republicans, were exiled for a period, and sixty-six for life, all of whom belonged to the extreme party. The Conservative deputies were released. In the provinces lists of suspects were drawn up by prefects and other officials. It is estimated that in the month of January, 1852, nearly 100,000 were arrested. These were tried by special tribunals, mixed commissions acting in districts declared to be under martial law. We learn from official documents that the number of persons thus sentenced was but few under 30,000, of whom 3,000 were banished to the interior of the country, 10,000 were deported to Algeria, and 6,000 were subjected to penal servitude. To these must be added the voluntary exiles in Switzerland, Belgium, England and America, who were very numerous. This cruel work was completed by February, 1852.

The Provisional Constitution.

It now remained for the President to give the provisional Constitution to France. This was promulgated on January 14th, 1852. It was mainly the work of Troplong, Persigny, Flahaut and Rouher. Ministers were to be appointed by the President and were removable at his pleasure. Great powers were given to the Council of Three, nominated by the head of the Government. The Senate was also appointed by the President and the salaries of its members were fixed by him. The sittings of the Senate were not public and only lasted so long as the President chose. The legislative body consisted of 250 members, who were elected by the *arrondissements* to pass laws and to regulate taxation, but

they had no power of initiative and were obliged to pass Government Bills without having any right to modify them. About the only power left to them was the annual voting of the budget.

This was merely an Empire in disguise, and in November, 1852, came the formal restoration of the hereditary Empire in the person of Napoleon III. A storm of addresses had given the President the opportunity of asking for an expression of opinion in the country with regard to altering the form of the Constitution. The Senate decreed the holding of a plebiscite by an almost unanimous vote, and the people decided for an Empire by an overwhelming majority. On the fatal day, December 2nd, the day of Austerlitz, the day of the *coup d'état* in Paris, a dull, wintry afternoon, the Senate and the legislative body went to St. Cloud, attended by torches, to announce to the Prince-President the result of the popular vote. He told them that he assumed the title of Napoleon III., by the grace of God and the will of the people Emperor of the French, but that he recognised everything which the history of France recorded since the extinction of the first Empire. Shortly afterwards he made his solemn entry into the Tuileries, and his civil list was fixed at £1,000,000 a year.

Napoleon III.

CHAPTER XI

ENGLAND, 1846-52

A New Epoch in British History.

THE Ministry of Lord John Russell in 1846 marks to some extent a new epoch in the history of the United Kingdom, an epoch which lasted until the advent of Gladstone in 1868. During this period domestic questions become less important, and the front of the stage is occupied by the politics of the Continent and the affairs of China and India. In this Ministry, Sir Charles Wood was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Palmerston was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, until his place was taken by Lord Granville in 1851. Except in its dealings with foreign nations the Cabinet could not be called conservative.

The men who had just won the repeal of the Corn Laws were not represented in it. Mr. Villiers, a prominent Free Trader, was offered a place in it, but refused the honour, and Richard Cobden was neglected. The only representative of that party was Milner Gibson, and he was placed in a very inferior position. Still, the principles of Free Trade were fully accepted by the new Ministry. They extended those principles to the important commodity of sugar, which forms so important a part of the food of the poorer classes. This was opposed by the Protectionists, but supported chivalrously by Peel. The alteration in the tax had the effect of bringing to British markets large quantities of sugar which previously had been excluded. It increased the revenue and at the same time decreased the price. Lord George Bentinck admitted that by this measure the revenue had gained £400,000 and the consumer had saved nearly £2,500,000.

Distressful Ireland.

The question of Ireland was very urgent. A terrible famine was raging in the country, and masses of people, without food and without shelter, were dying by the roadside. Potatoes were rotting in the ground, and potatoes were the staple of the people's diet. The Cabinet established relief works, but they were of little use, and it was impossible to regulate admission to them. The number attending them rose from 114,000 in October, 1846, to 734,000 in March, 1847. The blight had fallen quite suddenly on the crops. Father Mathew wrote: "On July 27th I passed from Cork to Dublin, and the doomed plant bloomed in all the

luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on August 3rd I beheld with sorrow mere wastes of putrefying vegetation." But while the relief works alleviated misery in some districts, in others thousands of people were perishing. It was evident that the relief works must be discontinued, for the roads were blocked by the labourers and by the stones they were crushing. The works had developed into a vast system of impoverishment for England and of pauperism for Ireland. The system came to an end in August, 1847. Relief Committees were organised instead, and the population was kept alive by daily rations until the harvest. At the same time a Bill was passed suspending the duty on foreign corn, and relaxing the navigation laws which prevented the importation of foreign corn in non-British ships and ships not manned by British seamen.

Irish Outdoor Relief

Another pressing evil in Ireland was the inadequacy of the arrangements for the relief of the poor. Outdoor relief was unknown and anyone requiring assistance had to seek it in the workhouse. But workhouses were few and had accommodation for only a very small fraction, not more than 3 per cent., of those really requiring help. However, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the Irish landlords, a measure of outdoor relief was passed. A Bill was also passed for selling encumbered estates, but this did not produce the good expected of it, because the new proprietor was often an unsympathetic landlord, who raised the rent of his tenants, and made their position worse than it had been before. A small sum was also granted by the Government to encourage the building of Irish railways.

The expenditure undertaken for the relief of the Irish distress had laid a burden on the Exchequer of not less than £7,000,000; the relief works alone had cost over £5,000,000, and the distribution of food more than £1,500,000. It was only possible to meet this by a loan. Though the attention of the country was occupied by the election of a new Parliament, which differed but little from the Parliament it replaced, and by a commercial crisis which made it necessary to suspend the operation of the Bank Charter Act, it soon became needful for it to concentrate its thoughts on Ireland.

Increase of Crime.

During the months of October and November, 1847, shooting at the person in open daylight was a common occurrence in the counties of Clare, Limerick and Tipperary. With few exceptions none of the miscreants were arrested; the murderers, protected by the people, in almost every instance escaped, and the hillsides were sometimes illuminated to celebrate the crime. The Govern-

ment's remedy for this state of things was a Coercion Bill. The Lord Lieutenant was authorised to proclaim a district, and in a proclaimed district he had power to increase the police force and charge the cost to the ratepayers.

Smith O'Brien's "Rebellion."

Ireland was, moreover, to be affected by the convulsions which shook the thrones of Europe in 1848. Smith O'Brien went as the head of a deputation to ask Lamartine, the famous French orator and statesman, to assist Ireland in her troubles, but Lamartine replied that it would not be proper for France to interfere in the affairs of a country with which she desired to remain at peace. The Cabinet increased the stringency of the Coercion Act, restricted freedom of speech, and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. But the so-called rebellion of Smith O'Brien was a mere flash in the pan, and the movement, which had been treated as a serious menace to the community, ended in laughter. This was the last Irish rebellion, and the chance of its having a successor grew less and less likely owing to the gradual diminution of the population, which six years of famine had reduced by nearly two millions; and the numbers, comparatively small as they were, were still further decreased by emigration.

The Chartists' Giant Petition.

But rebellion would not have occurred in Ireland at all if it had not been stimulated by similar disturbances in England, where the unrest of the Continent also produced an effect. Multitudes were out of employment, and the poor were suffering privations the like of which they had not experienced for many years. These hardships led to a revival of Chartism. The Chartists were at this time under the guidance of an Irishman, Feargus O'Connor. Tall, and of noble presence, he had all the qualifications for a rough, popular orator. He and his colleagues and their followers agreed to carry a monster petition to the House of Commons, and to escort it by a monster procession. It was publicly advertised that this would take place on April 10th, 1848. The Government issued an order that such a procession was illegal, and the defence of London was entrusted to the Duke of Wellington. The approaches to Westminster were guarded by some regular troops, many more being held in reserve, but judiciously kept out of sight. A hundred and seventy thousand special constables were sworn in for the preservation of order, amongst them Prince Louis Napoleon, the future Emperor of the French. The procession was abandoned, and the petition, instead of being accompanied to Parliament by a triumphant throng, was taken in a hackney coach. When the roll was examined, it was found to contain fewer than 2,000,000 signatures, instead of over 5,500,000, as had been

asserted by its supporters. Many of the names were fictitious. Besides those of the Queen, Wellington, and Peel, were found appellations such as "Pugnose," "Flatnose," and "No Cheese." The English rebellion ended, like the Irish, in ridicule.

Fears of a French Invasion.

Unfortunately the disturbed state of the Continent produced a panic in England, founded upon a dread of France, which, but for the sudden collapse of the French Government, might have had disastrous consequences. Such panics are liable to recur, directed now against one country and now against another, and the lessons of experience seem powerless to prevent them. At that time the subject of the panicmonger's frenzy and tail-lashing was the creation of a French steam fleet. The Duke of Wellington denounced the condition of the national defences, and the United Kingdom quivered at the fear of imminent invasion. And this was at a period when economy was especially needed to repair commercial disaster, and when the famine in Ireland had caused a large expenditure. The Prime Minister did not dare to resist a senseless popular cry, and the budget left the nation with a deficit of over £3,000,000, the shortage being met by raising the income tax from sevenpence to a shilling in the pound. The budget was received with a burst of disapproval from both parties, one clamouring for economy and the other for further expense. But a dramatic catastrophe happened. The budget was propounded on February 18th, and a week later it was known that the Monarchy of July had collapsed, and that the dreaded master of an imaginary steam fleet was on his way to England, a sick and weary fugitive. The budget was withdrawn and the income tax remained as before.

Evictions in Ireland.

The difficulties with regard to Ireland still continued. The Poor Law of 1847 had given Irish peasants a claim to outdoor relief, and this, by making it more easy for the owner to clear the property, led to wholesale evictions. Thousands of families were turned out of their cottages; some went into villages where there was no proper accommodation for them, others lay down and died by the wayside. Some went to England; those who could, emigrated. Wherever they went they carried with them the seeds of disease and perished like flies. One of the first acts of the Ministry was to vote £50,000 in aid of bankrupt unions, but really the whole system of Irish poor law relief demanded examination and amendment. In the end the situation was met by a regular grant in aid of poor law relief from the richer country to the poorer, and by the limitation of the amount of poor rate to which Irish estates were liable.

Repeal of the Navigation Acts.

The year 1849 also witnessed an extension of Free Trade by the repeal of the Navigation Acts, the object of which was to keep the world's carrying trade entirely in the hands of Great Britain. First passed in the time of the Commonwealth, they were confirmed by the Parliament of the Restoration in 1660 and 1662. They were directed primarily against the Dutch, then England's great rivals in maritime commerce. But as years rolled on and the circumstances of the world altered, the working of these laws became disastrous. When the Americans came to possess a mercantile marine they retaliated, and if American ships could not bring British produce to America, British ships might not bring British produce to the United States. Huskisson was obliged to introduce the principle of reciprocity, which after his time was largely extended by treaty. Direct trade with the treaty countries was partially opened. Concessions were made to Austria and the States of the Prussian Zollverein. The Colonies were allowed to trade directly with most foreign nations, and the East Indies with any friendly Power. American ships might trade between England and India, but no foreign ship might carry between England and her colonies, or from colony to colony. No Asian, African, or American produce could, as a rule, be brought from any European port, neither sugar nor coffee from Rotterdam, nor cotton from Havre.

Friction in Canada.

In 1844, Mr. Gladstone, then Vice-President of the Board of Trade, appointed a committee to inquire into the operation of the Acts, but the matter was not ripe for legislation till 1849. Even then opinion was equally divided. Mercantile and manufacturing prosperity required complete freedom, but the British shipping interest and the old school of naval officers were almost unanimous against repeal. Probably the scale was turned by Canada, which declared that the repeal of the Corn Laws had given the Americans a great advantage in competition for the corn trade. America could send her corn freely to England, but Canada must use only British vessels, and the British shipowners raised the freights. There was danger of an estrangement between the colony and the Mother Country. Canadians said that this was one of the evil consequences of Free Trade, and that if Protection were established all grievances would be removed. The Bill passed with great difficulty, the Protectionists in the House of Lords only being defeated by a majority of ten on the second reading, and by a majority of thirteen on the third. The passing of this Act was the main work of the session of 1849.

Difficulties again arose with regard to Ireland. The Battle

of Dolly's Brae, between the Orangemen and the Catholics, took place on July 12th, 1849. On that day, the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, the Orangemen of Down set out to pay a visit to their master, Lord Roden, at Tollymore Park, and had to pass through a defile in the Monaghan Hills known as Dolly's Brae. A large force of military and police prevented a conflict on the outward journey, and the return might also have been achieved in peace had the Orangemen taken a shorter and more convenient road home, but, swollen with whisky, they refused to do this, and, singing Orange songs and waving banners, reached the pass in the evening. There they produced an explosion of feeling. The Ribbonmen fired on the police, and the Orangemen joined in the fray. Four Ribbonmen were shot dead, forty were wounded, the Orangemen sacked and burned the houses of the Ribbonmen, and murdered at least one inoffensive person. This scandal caused a profound sensation, but it was difficult to find a remedy. A better state of feeling was evoked by a short visit which Queen Victoria paid to Ireland in her yacht, steaming into Cork and leaving by Belfast. She and her family were received everywhere with enthusiasm. Thus encouraged, the Ministry in 1850 introduced three measures, a Relief Bill to alleviate the burden on Irish property, an extension of the Irish county franchise, and the abolition of the Viceroyalty. The first two measures were passed, the second in an amended form, but the third, the object of which was to abolish an office that was a symbol of dependence and more ornamental than useful, was not carried; it is difficult to say why. Perhaps it was feared that the abolition of the Castle Court might be prejudicial to the interests of Dublin tradesmen. The second reading was adopted by a large majority, but the Bill was afterwards abandoned.

Palmerston as Foreign Secretary.

Between 1846 and 1851 Lord Palmerston held the office of Foreign Secretary, certainly one of the most brilliant statesmen that ever held those seals. He carried out a difficult policy in a determined manner, and his action often brought him into conflict with the Crown. The foreign policy of the United Kingdom has always been largely under the control of the Sovereign. Consequently all dispatches were submitted to the Queen before being sent, and when returned to the office they frequently showed alterations in her handwriting. But in these matters Prince Albert also exercised a powerful, if not paramount, influence. He always worked with the Queen, their writing-tables were side by side, and her correspondence was invariably prepared for her perusal by him. He had a profound knowledge of foreign affairs

and very definite views, but his ideas did not always coincide with those of Palmerston, and the British Minister might reasonably hold that the foreign policy of Great Britain ought not to be controlled by one who was himself a German and possibly represented the ideas of the German States.

Palmerston and the Powers.

When Palmerston came into office in 1846, the relations between France and Great Britain were strained by the question of the Spanish marriages. A dispatch of July 19th, in which he objected to the French marriages, and expressed a desire for a return of constitutional government in Spain, offended both Paris and Madrid and drove Queen Isabella into hastening the Bourbon marriage. Probably Palmerston's action wrecked an understanding between the two countries, a relation, however, which he described as *ni entente, ni cordiale*. When, in 1846, Austria destroyed the independence of Cracow, Palmerston was rumoured to have said that Cracow had always formed part of the general arrangement which the great Powers had made at Vienna for the settlement of Europe: what Europe laid down Europe alone could alter. He also interfered actively in the affairs of Portugal, where civil war was raging between Saldanha and the insurgents. Palmerston, however, agreed to mediate if four conditions were fulfilled:—

1. A general amnesty;
2. A revocation of the decrees issued since Saldanha took office;
3. A convocation of the Cortes;
4. The appointment of a national administration.

If these terms were refused the British Government would arrange, with the Governments of France and Spain, the best means of offering essential assistance to the Queen of Portugal. Neither party liked this arrangement, but, their fleet being captured by the British, the Portuguese were obliged to submit. A Convention was duly signed, and the civil war ceased.

Palmerston took an equally bold and independent line on the question of the Sonderbund. He refused to admit that the formation of the Sonderbund had dissolved the Swiss Confederation, and proposed that the foreign Powers should offer their mediation on the understanding that, if it were refused, no intervention should take place, and that, if it were accepted, the Jesuits should be expelled, the Sonderbund be dissolved, and the civil war terminate. Guizot threatened to form a separate alliance and leave Great Britain to stand alone. Luckily, the rapid suppression of the Sonderbund by General Dufour obviated all danger of a civil war.

To the unconcealed disgust of Metternich, Palmerston also loyally supported the new Liberal movement in Italy. He expressed a hope that, considering the deep, widespread, and well-founded discontent, Austria would use her influence to encourage necessary reforms and improvements, declared that any armed intervention of Austria in Italy would be resented by Great Britain, and seemed to hint at the possibility of war. Lord Minto was dispatched to Italy to support reforms both in Rome and Sardinia. He was asked to assure the Italians that the moral force of Great Britain would be everywhere on the side of progress. Palmerston learned of the Revolution of February with some satisfaction, because it brought about the fall of Guizot, to whom he was especially opposed, and whose fate he deemed to be a guarantee for peace. He ordered the Minister accredited to Louis Philippe to continue at his post, and to assure the provisional Government of the friendly feelings of the British nation.

Warning to Austria.

In the disaster caused by the revolution of Italy, Austria appealed to Palmerston for the assistance of Great Britain. He was obdurate and told the Austrian envoy that his sympathies were with Italy, and advised Austria to give up her Italian possessions quietly and at once. It is probable that Palmerston trusted too much to the possibility of Italy's obtaining what she wanted by force of arms, and that he did not foresee the victories of Radetzky. It is doubtful whether Great Britain could have done anything worth doing for Italy, and it is certain that Palmerston did not choose the favourable opportunity for doing it. When Radetzky was beaten, Palmerston had urged Austria to cede Venice; when Radetzky was victorious, he did his utmost to secure the cession of Lombardy. Even after Novara he endeavoured to moderate the demands of Austria.

The Friend of Italy.

Palmerston pursued an equally enlightened and generous policy towards Hungary, urging Austria to satisfy the national feeling of the Hungarians. When the Hungarians were crushed by the aid of Russia, he warned Austria to pay regard to the ancient constitutional rights of Hungary. When the patriots fled for refuge into Turkey, both Russia and Austria put strong pressure on the Porte for their extradition, and even broke off diplomatic relations with Turkey. But on the advice of Palmerston, supported by Stratford Canning, the Turks refused to surrender them. In all these matters Palmerston played a noble and high-spirited part, and raised the reputation of his country to the highest pitch. He has never received adequate praise for his heroism when he stood at bay against the great autocratic Powers of Europe,

Palmerston at Bay.

exhibiting conduct worthy to be compared with the best achievements of Canning, who is still the ideal of European Liberals.

The Prince Consort and Palmerston.

But heroic conduct, to be appreciated and supported, needs a heroic environment, and this was not to be found in the Great Britain of 1850 and still less in the mind of Prince Albert. He was jealous of Palmerston; he could not follow the rapid decisions of the statesman's intellect, and was always recommending caution. Palmerston was perfectly right not to allow the foreign policy of Great Britain to be transferred to the Prince's study at Osborne or Windsor Castle. Yet a comparatively unimportant matter gave Palmerston's enemies an opportunity of scoring a point against him; this happened in connection with the tiny kingdom of Greece.

Attack on Palmerston.

King Otho, in building his palace, had taken possession of some ground belonging to George Finlay, the historian of Greece, the King offering very inadequate compensation for its value. About the same time, an outrage was committed upon a Jew, named Don Pacifico, who was a British subject from Gibraltar. On Easter Sunday, a Greek had broken into his house, beaten his wife and children, destroyed his furniture, and robbed him of money and jewels. Don Pacifico's claim for money amounted to £30,500. Palmerston endorsed this claim and, as the demands for redress dragged on from 1847 to 1850, at last determined to bring matters to a crisis by sending the British fleet to the Piræus. He gave the Greeks forty-eight hours to settle the claims, and at the expiry of that time began to seize Greek gunboats and merchant vessels. An attempt was made by the French to mediate, but eventually the Greek Government gave way and satisfied all claims. Palmerston's action was honourable and even estimable, but it exposed him to attack. A vote of censure was carried in the House of Lords by 169 to 132, but a resolution in his favour, proposed by Roebuck in the House of Commons, where Palmerston made a masterly and convincing defence, was carried by 310 to 264, and he emerged triumphantly from his ordeal.

Queen Victoria and Palmerston.

One result, however, was that the Queen drew up a memorandum on August 12th, 1849, in which she required Lord Palmerston to say distinctly what he proposed doing in any given case, so that she might know to what she was giving her sanction; she further stipulated that, having given her sanction, it must not be arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister; and she also stated that she expected to be informed as to what passed between Lord Palmerston and foreign Secretaries of State, and to receive

dispatches from abroad promptly and the drafts of dispatches in reply in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they were sent out. In this controversy, public opinion generally has supported the Queen, and modern historians agree in condemning the Foreign Secretary and in underrating the character of his work.

The Prince Consort in Politics.

Final judgment, however, will probably recognise Palmerston to have been one of the greatest Foreign Secretaries that Great Britain has ever had: wise, liberal and courageous, the very opposite of Castlereagh; as bold as, but more generous than, Wellington, ranking rather with Cromwell, Chatham and Canning. To have withstood Metternich, to have championed the cause of liberty in Europe in its darkest days, to have foreseen and to have aided it in its future triumph, to have maintained the credit of the British crown high and unsullied, when thrones were toppling throughout Europe, is no mean praise. In England justice is sometimes long in coming, but it comes in the end. Further, it may be doubted whether Prince Albert really had the qualities of a great Minister. He was learned, laborious, and conscientious, but his political training had been narrow and pedantic, and he possessed neither the outlook nor the intuitive grasp necessary for the successful conduct of affairs. Those behind the scenes in the Courts of Europe knew all along what the British public shrewdly suspected, that the Queen was the genius and her Consort the pedagogue, and an attentive study of her letters, one of the most interesting and most valuable contributions ever made to political literature, will lead the careful student to the same conclusion.

A Cultured Prince.

Still, on some sides, Prince Albert was supreme. He was a man of culture, to whom nothing could have been more distasteful than the insular ignorance and boorishness which characterised the governing classes amongst whom he had to live. It is creditable that he suffered them with such patience and concealed the dislike which they, in turn, instinctively felt for him. He did this by identifying himself so closely with the Queen that it was impossible to dissociate them. As Charles Kingsley said when he heard the news of his death, " He was King of England for twenty years, and no one knew it." The secret of his power lay in the fact that no one knew it, and that he allowed no one to know it. The Queen, although a woman of rare natural capacity, did not care for intellectual society, and Prince Albert's love for it, which would have injured him in English opinion, was veiled by her distaste for it.

Influence of the Prince Consort.

Yet his influence in skilfully undermining the crust of Philistine prejudice which lay over the highest society, and impeded its growth, cannot be overrated. He produced a sympathy between Great Britain and Germany which the union with Hanover had never been able to effect. German, instead of Italian, began to be studied by young Englishmen. The intricacies of German music received an appreciation which had been confined to the admirers of Handel, whom most Englishmen regarded as their own countryman. The Queen had little taste, and the Prince a rather poor taste, but the love of music began to make itself felt, and Prince Albert's deep interest in science was not without its effects. Whatever England possessed of culture in the last half of the nineteenth century received from him probably a greater stimulus than from any other man. He took a keen interest in education, paid marked attention to Eton, founded Wellington College, was Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, and his early death laid a serious misfortune on England by depriving her of the services of the one man who could have led the educational strivings of the age to a successful issue.

The First International Exhibition.

All these efforts culminated in the International Exhibition of 1851, which was the creation of the Prince Consort. It was a fine idea to induce the nations of the world, exhausted by the struggles of internal civil war, to meet as brothers, and to know no rivalry except in the arts of peace and industry. It is strange to remember that, in those days, the masterpieces of Italian art, the works of Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci, were classed among the products of Austria, and that the only collection from Germany bore the uncouth and unintelligible appellation of "Zollverein." But from the time of this exhibition insular barriers were broken down; Englishmen discovered that the Continent was peopled by human beings like themselves, and foreigners found out that the island of Britain was not always shrouded in perpetual fog, or its people's hearts frozen in continual reserve. The exhibition marked a great epoch in the history of civilisation, and was a dividing line between the new era and the old.

Death of Peel.

The year 1850 saw the death of Sir Robert Peel, who, although more frequently in opposition than in office, deservedly ranks with the foremost British statesmen. His last speech in the House of Commons was on the question of the censure of Palmerston. Next day he attended a committee of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, and in the afternoon went out for a ride. While proceeding up Constitution Hill, he stopped to speak to a young lady. His horse shied and threw him, causing concussion

of the brain. He lingered for a few days, but died in the night of July 2nd, 1850.

Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

The final excitement of the year was caused by the issue of a Papal Bull at the end of September, creating a hierarchy of Roman Catholic bishops in England, each having the title of his own see. Lord John Russell wrote a letter to the Bishop of Durham, in which he declared the Pope's action to be a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undiminished sway which was inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy and the rights of the bishops and clergy of the Anglican Church. He went on to attack the High Church party in the Church of England. The day following the publication of this letter was Guy Fawkes' Day, and the effigies of the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman, who had just been made Archbishop of Westminster, instead of Archbishop of Mesopotamia, took the place of those of the traditional conspirators. The agitation led, in the following year, to the introduction of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which was received with much ridicule and obloquy when first proposed, but which, when altered and strengthened, was passed by a large majority.

The Window Tax.

The Ministry, discredited by the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, suffered a more severe defeat on the budget. The window tax had existed for a hundred and fifty years, and had been originally associated with a house tax. All houses had to pay a tax of two shillings, but houses with ten or twenty windows had to pay an additional tax of four shillings and eight shillings respectively. In 1834 Althorp repealed the house tax, but the window tax remained. It was a wretched burden, tending to diminish in every dwelling the sun and air, the first requisites of health. The Chancellor of the Exchequer determined to abolish the tax and substitute a house tax for it. But the budget had no prestige, and was received with indifference.

Russell in Office but Not in Power.

Locke King, member for Surrey, having proposed a motion to place householders in counties on the same footing, with regard to the franchise, as householders in towns, this was opposed by Lord John Russell, who was, however, defeated by nearly two to one. The Cabinet, thus discredited, and not supported either in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill or the budget, resigned on Februar 22nd. But an endeavour to form another Ministry, either unde Lord Stanley or with the assistance of Aberdeen or Graham, havin proved fruitless, the Queen was obliged to recall Lord John Russell as was said, to office, but not to power. Shortly after this, th relations between the Crown and Palmerston reached breaking

point. The Queen was very anxious not to express approval of the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, but Palmerston had already spoken to Walewski, the French Ambassador in London, recognising the necessity and the advantage to France and Europe of the bold and decisive step taken by the President. Palmerston, instead of explaining his conduct, entered into a long defence of Napoleon, and Russell decided to dispense with his services.

The 1851 Exhibition.

We have already seen how the International Exhibition came into being, and it remains to say that it was opened on May Day, 1851. The building had been erected in a portion of Hyde Park, lying between Knightsbridge and the Serpentine, a little to the east of the ground now occupied by the Albert Memorial, and of the trees that were left standing in the vast structure one still flourishes. The Exhibition was opened by the Queen, and never during her reign did she preside at a more impressive pageant. In her speech she expressed a hope that the undertaking might conduce to the common welfare of the human race, by displaying the arts of peace and industry, and strengthening the bonds of union among the nations. At the time when the riches of the world were collected in her capital, when her husband was assuming the position which she felt him to deserve, when the various peoples governed by her sceptre were present with their products, and when a sympathetic world shared in the enjoyment of the spectacle, she might have been exalted with pride, but her only thought, she humbly avowed, was to give praise and thanks to God.

The Sequel to a Festival of Peace.

The Great Exhibition was regarded as a festival which was to inaugurate a long reign of peace. It is now, to the eye of the historian, an event which closed a long interval of peace, because, from the year 1851, war has almost continuously disturbed the world. The *coup d'état* was followed by the Crimean War as one of its natural effects, and this by the Indian Mutiny. Then came the war between France and Austria for the liberation of Italy, the Civil War between North and South in the United States, the conquest of Sicily and Naples by Garibaldi, the expulsion of the Emperor Maximilian from Mexico. Next ensued the war between Germany and Denmark, the struggle for supremacy in Germany between Austria and Prussia, and the war between France and Germany. Since the last-named campaign the world has witnessed the war between Russia and Turkey, between Turkey and Greece, the disastrous struggle between Boer and Briton, the wars between Japan and China and between Russia and Japan. During half

a century the gates of the Temple of Janus were scarcely ever closed. But notwithstanding this, and the possibility of future strife, the Exhibition of 1851 remains a landmark of civilisation, and has been the fruitful parent of similar international meetings, the general outcome of which must be the gradual extinction of war and the consolidation of the brotherhood of man.

CHAPTER XII

THE SECOND EMPIRE

Napoleon's Aims.

NAPOLEON III. ascended the throne of France with the intention of realising what he called "the Napoleonic ideas." These were the reconstruction of French society, shattered by fifty years of revolution, and the reconciliation of order with liberty, and of popular rights with the principle of authority; in other words, he hoped to reconcile the conflicting principles of *imperium* and *libertas* by establishing a democratic Empire. Napoleon I. had found it impossible to realise his projects in ten years; his mission had been to complete the work of the Revolution and establish liberty in France. But liberty could not crown the edifice unless a sure and solid foundation were first laid. The authority of government must be generally recognised; it must appear as the beneficent influence which rules the whole community. Napoleon had attached great importance to manufactures, had encouraged those which existed, and had created new ones. His successors, if they would complete his work, must supply a similar stimulus to affairs by helping and encouraging all classes alike. They must assist the peasants by improving the cultivation of the land, the manufacturers by opening new fields of industry, and the artisans by keeping them well employed with good wages. In this manner work would be found for the unemployed, a demand would be created for every product, and poverty would disappear. The triumph of Christianity abolished slavery, the triumph of the French Revolution abolished serfdom, the triumph of Democracy would abolish pauperism. In foreign affairs the fundamental Napoleonic idea was that of a European confederation, the loyal offer of an alliance with France to every Government willing to combine with her in defence of interests common to all. Such were the ideas which the Emperor pledged himself to accomplish. They included a cordial understanding with Great Britain, and he believed that peace with the United Kingdom had always been one of his uncle's dearest wishes if the island Power had but given him the opportunity of carrying it out.

The Constitution of January 14th, 1852, together with later additions, made the head of the State responsible to the nation,

but gave him free and unfettered authority. He commanded the forces by land and sea, could make peace and war, administered justice, and possessed the prerogative of pardon. He had the sole power of initiating laws, he promulgated them and carried them into effect. He had, therefore, the whole of the executive in his hands, and considerable influence over the judiciary and the legislature. He obtained the power of concluding treaties of commerce and of ordering and authorising all works of public utility. He was the judge of the relations between the Senate and the legislative body. It is true that the budget of each Ministry was voted by the legislative body, but the appropriation of the various sums was settled by Imperial decree.

The Emperor and His Ministers.

It was said that he was responsible to the people, but the people could only act through a plebiscite, and a plebiscite could only be sanctioned by the authority of the Emperor. He governed France through the Ministers, prefects, and the great network of centralised administration by which the country was covered. The Ministers were ten in number. First came the Minister of State. He was the means of communication between the Emperor, the Senate, the legislative and other bodies; he had charge of the Imperial household, and was entrusted with all matters not specially assigned to other Ministers. The other Ministers presided over Justice, Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Finance, War, Marine and the Colonies, Public Institutions and Religion, Public Works, and Police, including the Press. The Ministers waited on the Emperor at least once a week, made their reports, expressed their views, and received his orders; but they did not form a Cabinet. They swore fidelity to the Emperor, were excluded from the legislative body, and each worked by himself in his own Ministry.

Municipal Government.

The prefects of the different departments were the representatives of the Government, and had all the authority of the Sovereign in their own territories. They received the commands of the Emperor through his Ministers; had power to legislate in certain cases, appointment of teachers being eventually placed in their hands, and had full control over all local bodies in their departments. Within his own sphere the prefect was a miniature Emperor, with his council of the prefecture and his general council. There was, indeed, in each commune, except in Paris, an elective municipal council, chosen every five years, with power to vote the municipal budget; but its sittings were not public, it might be suspended, and had very little power.

Besides Ministers and prefects, the Emperor had under his

authority the army and the police. The police kept the newspapers well under control, only one paper being allowed for each shade of opinion. The Government was represented by the *Constitutionnel*, the *Patrie*, and the *Pays*; the Orléans party by the *Journal des Débats*; the Legitimist party by the *Gazette de France* and the *Union*; and a mild Republicanism by the *Siècle*.

Napoleon's Civil List.

It was natural that the Emperor should wish to establish a brilliant Court, and, indeed, the Court of Napoleon III. was very brilliant. He took up his abode at the Tuileries and, as we have said, his civil list was fixed at £1,000,000 a year. The dynasty was made hereditary in his own legitimate and direct descendants, but in default of male issue he might adopt the male issue of the brothers of Napoleon I. All his relatives received an allowance of £60,000 a year, but the only recognised members of his family were Jerome, ex-King of Westphalia, and his two children, Prince Napoleon and Princess Mathilde, who was married to Prince Demidoff.

Prince Napoleon lived at the Palais Royal, and gathered round him advanced Liberals who had leanings towards Republicanism. He had a strongly-marked Napoleon face and went by the name of Plon Plon, had considerable abilities, but was deficient in tact and moderation. The Emperor did not trust him, and looked upon the Palais Royal as a centre of opposition.

Marriage of the Emperor.

It was natural that the Emperor should desire to marry as soon as possible, partly to provide his Court with a mistress and partly to secure an heir. Overtures were made to several European Courts without success; but Mr. Evans, an American dentist, who was an intimate friend of the Emperor, had some time before fixed his mind on Eugénie de Montijo as a fitting consort. She was, on her father's side, of a noble Spanish family, and on her mother's of Scottish descent. She was invited to Court balls and danced frequently with the Emperor, who was much fascinated by her. One morning Mr. Evans was with the Emperor when the post arrived, bringing a fresh rejection. The Emperor read the letter with disgust and said, "I won't have anything more to do with these princesses: I'll marry your American."

Evans said, "She is not an American; she is a Spaniard."

"I don't care what she is," cried the Emperor; "I'll marry her."

And the marriage took place. She was then twenty-six years of age, and a better choice could not have been made. She was one of the loveliest women in the world, and her manners were

simple and dignified; but she was extremely religious and undoubtedly strengthened the hands of the Clerical faction in the Tuileries.

The Legislative Body.

Let us now consider the position of the bodies who were supposed to limit the power of the Emperor—the legislative body, the Council of State, and the Senate. The Lower House was elected by universal suffrage, all citizens being voters. France had been divided into one-member constituencies, as the *scrutin de liste*—according to which members were elected by larger constituencies—had been abolished. At every election there was an official candidate, whose address to the electors was posted at the public expense. Opposition candidates were permitted, but great difficulties were placed in their way. The mayor, appointed by the Government, was the returning officer, and was able to exert considerable influence over the results. The official candidate generally obtained a majority. The President of the Chamber, or, as we should say, the Speaker, was appointed by the Emperor. The legislative body sat for three months in the year, chiefly for the purpose of passing a budget. It had no power of initiative, nor could it amend a Bill brought in by the Government.

The Council of State and Senate.

The Council of State was a very important body. The President, appointed by the Emperor, held the rank of a Minister. A similar council does not exist in the British Constitution, but it is of great service. Its business was to discuss and elaborate all Government measures, first in each of its six sections, and then in a full sitting. It also had certain legislative and judicial powers. It was also the supreme administrative tribunal, and appointed from its own body inspectors of prefects, who exercised a certain control over the executive. The Senate consisted partly of ex officio members (marshals, admirals, cardinals and the like), and partly of 150 members nominated by the Emperor. It had not only a share in legislation, but the power of initiative, and could propose measures to the Government. It could codify and interpret the Constitution, and annul enactments which were not in accordance with it. The text of the Constitution said "The Emperor governs by means of the Ministers, the Council of State, the Senate, and the legislative body."

The Emperor and the Church.

The relations of the Emperor to the Church and education may be concisely stated. The leaders of the Catholic party, Veuillot, Montalembert, and Dupanloup supported the results of the *coup d'état*. Of these, Montalembert broke with the Emperor and formed a Liberal Opposition, while the Emperor received thoroughgoing support from Veuillot and the *Univers*. The

Church gradually obtained control over education, chiefly by means of Fortoul, Minister of Instruction from 1851 to 1856. It is unnecessary to trace the steps by which the Universities became gradually the servants of the Government. The secondary and primary schools also came, little by little, into the hands of the Church. The time when the instruction of France was to be committed to Duruy, a Liberal and a reformer, was not yet.

Benefits of the Empire.

There is no doubt that the material prosperity of France increased greatly under the Empire: those who travelled through the country saw everywhere increasing signs of trade and prosperity, of commerce, of the spread of towns, and of social and industrial well-being. This was greatly due to the wisdom of the Emperor, who attracted to himself such commercial leaders as Enfantin, Talabot, Michel Chevalier, and the brothers Péreire.

Under this influence the well-known trading institutions were founded—the Crédit Foncier and the Crédit Mobilier. The object of the first was to lend money on mortgage, the second was to be a joint-stock bank, which was to contract loans, make advances and issue notes. The function of the Crédit Mobilier was to set on foot and support important enterprises, take part in public loans, and assist in the establishment of great companies, and it was allowed to issue securities to the amount of ten times its capital. One of its enterprises was the establishment of a gas company for the lighting of Paris. Its prosperity was so great that in a few years its shares were worth four times their original value. The Bank of France shared in the general expansion, and in the later years of the Empire an order was issued to establish at least one branch in each department of the country. By wise legislation the building of railways was encouraged, and in five years the length of the system was increased fivefold. The number of agricultural societies was enlarged and medals were accorded to those who had distinguished themselves in agricultural enterprise. The Landes, the vast pine-covered sandy plains in the south-west, were drained, and horse-breeding was encouraged. Manufactures were stimulated, and trades, like those of butchers and bakers, were relieved from vexatious restrictions.

Industrial Development.

The number of patents taken out became much larger, and the amount of horse-power used in steamers increased fivefold. Manufactures of cast and wrought iron developed wonderfully and were able to satisfy the demands made upon them by the extension of railways and the like. The cotton industry doubled its consumption of raw material, and in the chemical industries the value of the output grew tenfold between 1847 and 1865.

Government Workshops.

To benefit the working classes, a scheme of Government workshops was introduced. Ten millions of francs were devoted to the improvement of workmen's dwellings, and extensive measures were undertaken for the improvement of the condition of the men. This policy was, in part, no doubt, devised to prevent political discontent, but it was also inspired by higher motives. Boards of arbitration, which had long existed under the name of *Conseils des Prud'hommes*, were placed upon a better footing, and given into the hands of the masters and the men together. Associations of workmen were also permitted, and great efforts were made to find work for the unemployed, both in the provinces and the capital. At Marseilles the docks were completed and opened, and many other public buildings adorned that city, which takes the first place among the ports of the Mediterranean. The towns of Lyons and Lille were beautified, and the port of Havre was enlarged.

Haussmann's New Paris.

Immediately after the *coup d'état* the Emperor set to work on the improvement of Paris, which under his hands became one of the wonders of the world. In this work he found an able coadjutor in Haussmann, whom he made Prefect of the Seine. He created an entirely new Paris by opening up facilities for traffic in the approaches to railway stations, by constructing squares, churches, and barracks, and by making magnificent boulevards. Visitors from every part of the world thronged to the beautiful city, some as sightseers and some to reside, and the money they brought helped to pay for the cost of the improvements. Paris in those days was excellently kept. There was no accumulation of snow and filth, and everything bore the appearance not only of material well-being, but of gaiety and happiness. If the working class population were driven to the circumference away from the centre, they had plenty of means of communication with the field of their labours.

Origin of the Crimean War.

A new epoch in the history of the Empire began with the Crimean War. Émile Ollivier, the Liberal Minister of the last years of Napoleon III., who had ample means of knowing the facts, attributes its origin mainly to the designs of the Emperor. He says that, being a Carbonaro in 1830, and intimately connected with the secret societies of Italy, the Emperor was pledged to the liberation of that country. A more honourable motive, perhaps, existed in the circumstance that Napoleon I. was Italian by origin, had been the first to realise the possibility of Italian regeneration, and the first to give effect to it, and that the liberation of Italy from the yoke of the Double Eagle was one of the

most fruitful and most beneficent of the "Napoleonic ideas." However this may be, Napoleon III. had determined to make the enfranchisement of Italy the principal work of his reign, and he saw that this meant the expulsion of Austria, which could only be accomplished by war. He saw further that such a war could not be successful if France had to fight Austria and Russia in conjunction, and it was, therefore, essential to render it impossible for Russia to give active assistance to her Austrian neighbour. For this purpose France must go to war with Russia. A pretext for hostilities presented itself in the dispute about the Holy Places, a quarrel which was the ostensible cause of the campaigns in the Crimea.

The Militia Bill.

We must consider the condition of Great Britain when this crisis occurred. The dismissal of Lord Palmerston, who was succeeded by Lord Granville, nearly brought about the fall of the Ministry. It lingered for nearly a year, but was defeated on the Militia Bill. The restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty in France led Great Britain to fear that a new series of wars might be embarked upon, and so the country was driven to adopt measures of internal defence. The British army, apart from the enlisted professional army, consisted of militia, which was of two kinds, regular and local. The regular militia was under the control of the Crown, and could be called out for training and be embodied for actual service. The local militia had come into existence during the war with Napoleon. It could only be used for the suppression of riots or rebellion, or in the case of the appearance of an enemy upon the coasts. It could not, in any circumstances, be moved out of Great Britain.

Appearance of Disraeli.

After Waterloo both forces had fallen into desuetude, and the Ministry now proposed to revive one of them. But they chose to revive the local, instead of the regular, militia, which was a very inadequate step. Palmerston had no difficulty in persuading the House to remove the word "local" from the proposals of the Ministry, who, in virtue of this defeat, resigned office. They were succeeded by Lord Stanley, who had just inherited the title of Lord Derby, but his reign was a short one. The most powerful man in the administration was Disraeli, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is remarkable that, of the thirteen members of the Cabinet, only two had ever sat in a Cabinet before. Moreover, they did not possess a majority in the House of Commons and barely in the House of Lords. They avoided the mistake made by Lord John Russell, by reviving the regular militia, with the approval of the Duke of Wellington.

Death of the Duke of Wellington.

This was, indeed, the last advice given by the Duke on public affairs. He died at Walmer Castle, in Kent, on September 14th, 1852. The Queen wrote of him in her diary: "His position was the highest a subject ever had; above party, looked up to by all, revered by the whole nation, the friend of the Sovereign; and how simply he carried these honours. With what singleness of purpose, what straightforwardness, what courage, were all the motives of his actions guided. The Crown never found, and I fear never will find, so devoted and faithful a subject, so staunch a supporter." He was buried on November 14th in St. Paul's Cathedral, with a magnificence of pomp which must live in the memory of all who saw it or even heard of it from eye-witnesses. He did not believe in popular liberties, but had no sympathy with the oppression of liberty as carried out by foreign Governments. If he was opposed to the principles of the Reform Bill, he was also opposed to those of the Holy Alliance. He was the embodiment of the sense of public duty. His firmness and tenacity won the Battle of Waterloo; but he was generous to his antagonist, and would never allow a word to be spoken against him in his presence. When asked his opinion about Waterloo, he would only reply, "We pounded and they pounded, and we pounded hardest." Undoubtedly he prevented the Ministry from delivering up Napoleon to Louis XVIII., to be shot as a traitor; but it is thought that he might have intervened to prevent the execution of Ney and the slow murder of the fallen Emperor on the rock of St. Helena.

Disraeli's First Budget.

Before the funeral a newly-elected Parliament had met. Lord Derby had hoped that he would obtain from the country a reversal of the policy of Free Trade. But he was disappointed. Disraeli was clever enough to throw over Protection. The spirit of the age tended to free intercourse, and the producer had nothing to expect but fair treatment, for whom all the Ministry could do was to diminish the cost of production. The Free Traders did not like this, and Mr. Villiers proposed a resolution declaring that the Act of 1846 was a wise, just and beneficent measure. To this Disraeli brought forward amendments, but the House eventually adopted a resolution of Lord Palmerston's which was a compromise between the two. Disraeli then introduced his budget in a five hours' speech of remarkable brilliancy. But the measure itself was fantastic and economically unsound, and was ruthlessly exposed by Gladstone. It was defeated by 300 votes to 286, and the Ministry had no alternative but to resign. The majority was composed of very different elements. The larger section were

the Whigs, led by Lord John Russell, but it also contained followers of Sir Robert Peel, and independent Radicals like Cobden and John Bright.

Lord Aberdeen's Ministry.

In the first instance the Queen sent for Lord Lansdowne, but he was too unwell to undertake the duty offered to him, and the task of forming a new Administration fell upon Lord Aberdeen. He composed a Cabinet of Whigs and Peelites, but whereas in the House of Commons the Peelites stood to the Whigs in the proportion of one to nine in the Cabinet they stood as six to seven. Lord John Russell was disappointed at not becoming Prime Minister, an office which he had already held, but finally consented to lead the House of Commons, and for a time to hold the seals of the Foreign Office, which were ultimately transferred to Lord Clarendon. Lord Aberdeen said that he intended to retire at the end of the session and leave the first place in the Cabinet to Lord John Russell. The Cabinet contained a large number of extremely distinguished men, particularly Lord John Russell, a former Prime Minister; Palmerston, a future Prime Minister; and Gladstone, afterwards one of the greatest of all Prime Ministers. It marked an epoch of transition between the old battles of Peel and Russell and those between Disraeli and Gladstone, but its foreign policy was weak and undecided.

Gladstone's First Budget.

Nevertheless, the Cabinet acquired credit by some vigorous acts of administration in 1853. In Canada it surrendered to the Government a large extent of territory known as the Clergy Reserves, the revenues of which were appropriated to the maintenance of an Established Church. It gave up the practice of transporting criminals to Australia; threw open the Civil Service of India to public competition; established Charity Commissioners for the better control of charities, and an Ecclesiastical Commission for the better management of endowments. But its great achievement was the budget, the first of those which were due to the financial genius of Gladstone, and marked the dawn of a new era in the commercial history of the country.

Gladstone found himself with a larger surplus than had been anticipated—£2,460,000 instead of £460,000; but the new military expenditure lowered it to £807,000. He proposed to reduce the income tax gradually to eightpence in the pound, and to terminate it altogether in 1860. The deficiency was to be supplied by a succession duty. This raised the surplus to something like £3,000,000. With this surplus he proposed to repeal the duty on soap; to diminish the duty on tea, advertisements, carriages, dogs, men-servants, apples, cheese, cocoa, butter, raisins, and 133

other articles; to abolish altogether the duty on almost the same number; and to reduce the rate of postage to the Colonies. He also made important changes in the Public Debt, and issued a new security under the name of Exchequer Bonds. This budget was magnificent in conception, but it proved something of a failure in execution. The succession duty did not yield what was expected of it. The budget was based on the assumption that the peace and prosperity of the world would continue unchecked, which was unfortunately falsified by events. Gladstone did not foresee that the country stood on the brink of a costly war. The hopes excited by the Exhibition of 1851 had a more powerful influence on his mind than the fears which might have been suggested by the renewal of the Napoleonic Empire.

Jerusalem and International Discord.

The Crimean War began in contests about Jerusalem, that city which must be regarded as the holiest by Christians of every denomination; the city which witnessed the childhood, the ministry, the passion and death of Jesus Christ. Thither throng, and have thronged for many ages, believers from every Christian country. Thousands of Russians spend their accumulated savings in visits to the holy shrines. They all march in long processions to the Jordan, cut rods of bamboo in the sacred stream, have them fashioned into rude staves, and perambulate with them the streets of the city. French, Belgians, Germans do the same, singing litanies as they march under their appropriate banners. The goal of their wanderings is the sepulchre of Christ, a tiny cell approached by a narrow passage, by which only one person can pass at a time. Some who visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may dwell on the fact that the followers of Him whose mission it was to bring peace and goodwill to men have sanctioned conflict and the sword; others may feel that it is a sign of the unity of Christendom that these separate altars, representing different traditions of faith and worship, should be collected in a single church united in the adoration of the same God.

Latin and Greek Rivalry.

The two main divisions of the Christian community are the Latins and the Greeks, represented by France and Russia; and it is natural that a rivalry should exist between them for the preservation and adornment of the sanctuaries of their common faith. Since 1740 France had enjoyed, by treaty, paramount rights to the custody of the sacred places in or near Jerusalem, but the hundred years which succeeded that date were not favourable to piety in France, and it was unlikely that the countrymen of Voltaire and Rousseau, Robespierre and Marat would trouble themselves much about the well-being of the Church of Bethlehem

or the lamps of the Holy Sepulchre. During this period, however, Russian Christians had done what the French had failed to do, and their action had been recognised and authorised by the Sultan. In 1850 Louis Napoleon, as President of the French Republic, stimulated by the Catholic influences which surrounded him, revived their claims, and after long negotiations succeeded in obtaining their recognition by the Porte. This concession excited resentment in Russia, and the Porte found itself between the upper and the nether millstone. It endeavoured, in the first instance, to gain time, and then to do something which would conciliate both disputants, but which ended in exasperating both.

The Tsar's Aspirations.

Relations between France and Russia were further strained by the dislike of the Emperor Nicholas to the creation of the second Empire. He had no great desire to see the advent of a third Empire in Europe, and his strong Legitimist prejudices were offended at the manner of its creation. He was somewhat slow in acknowledging it, and addressed the new Sovereign not as "my brother," but as "my friend." If Napoleon really wished to pick a quarrel with Russia this gave him an opportunity of doing so. At the same time there began to arise a misunderstanding between Russia and Great Britain. Nicholas was naturally anxious for the destruction of the Turkish Empire and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, as every patriotic Russian and, indeed, every right-thinking man would be. In 1844 the Tsar had paid a memorable visit to England, when Aberdeen was Foreign Minister, with whom he formed an intimacy which almost amounted to friendship. Nicholas said to Aberdeen and Peel, then Prime Minister: "Turkey is a dying man. We cannot now determine what shall be done at his death, but we may keep the event before our eyes. Russia does not claim one inch of Turkish soil, but she will not suffer any other Power to have an inch of it; therefore, to prevent France from seizing Turkish territory in Africa, the Mediterranean, or the East, Russia and Great Britain should be agreed, and should arrive at some common understanding. If Russia, Great Britain and Austria were at one, peace would be assured."

"The Sick Man" of Europe.

Nicholas imagined that the advent of Aberdeen to power would give him another opportunity of doing what he wished, and on January 9th, 1853, he said to Sir Hamilton Seymour, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg: "The Turk is a sick man, his country is falling to pieces; it is important that Great Britain and Russia should come to an understanding on the subject." He renewed the conversation five days later, remarking: "Turkey

may suddenly die upon our hands; we cannot resuscitate what is dead; if the Turkish Empire falls, it falls to rise no more. It is better to be prepared for this catastrophe." He asked Sir Hamilton Seymour to communicate his views to the British Government. Lord John Russell, who had not yet surrendered the seals of the Foreign Office, replied in a friendly dispatch that personal arrangements, made without the knowledge of the Powers, might precipitate the crisis, but that Great Britain would enter into no arrangement for the disposal of Turkish territory without communicating with Russia in the first instance.

The Tsar and the Division of Turkey.

On February 20th, 1853, when Seymour received Russell's dispatch, he had an interview with the Tsar, in which the latter again referred to the fate hanging over Turkey. He said that he had no desire to see Constantinople in the hands of Russia or any other Great Power. On the other hand, he would not consent to the restoration of the old Byzantine Empire, the extension of the territory of Greece, or the division of Turkey into a number of petty States. The Principalities already enjoyed independence under the protection of Russia. Servia, Bulgaria, and other Turkish provinces might be made independent in a similar manner, and Great Britain might occupy Egypt and Crete, thus securing the road to India. Lord Clarendon, who had now succeeded as Foreign Minister, replied "that the British Government did not think the condition of Turkey so desperate as Nicholas supposed, and that, when the catastrophe came, the future of Turkey should be decided at a congress of the Great Powers."

How Misunderstandings Caused War.

The careful student of history will probably come to the conclusion that no wars are inevitable, but arise principally from misunderstandings, just as quarrels arise between individuals in private life. Such misunderstandings were now about to plunge Europe into war. The Tsar sent Prince Menshikov and the British Government Lord Stratford de Redcliffe as ambassadors to Constantinople. Menshikov arrived at Constantinople on February 28th. He waited upon the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, but refused to wait upon Fuad Pasha, the Foreign Minister. Fuad resigned his post and Refad Pasha was appointed in his place. A panic seized upon the Turkish Government, and the Grand Vizier appealed to the Ministers of France and Great Britain. As Lord Stratford and the French Ambassador had not arrived, both countries were represented by subordinate officers. Benedetti sent a warning letter to Paris and Rose ordered up the fleet from Malta. This, however, was overruled by the British Cabinet, and the French

Emperor, who was probably anxious to fish in troubled waters, sent a French fleet to Salamis. It was not favourable to the preservation of peace that France and Russia, whose relations were already strained, should be placed within striking distance of each other.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Russia.

What now happened is a little obscure. Menshikov asked that the Greek Christians in Turkey might be placed under the protection of Russia. There was nothing unreasonable in this demand. The Roman Catholics in Turkey were already under the protection of Austria, and the Treaty of Kuchuk Kanardji, just eighty years before, had placed the Greek Church at Constantinople under Russian protection. But by this time Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had arrived. He was an arrogant and hot-headed diplomatist, an enthusiast for the cause of Turkey—the Government of which, however, he treated with supreme contempt—and had his personal reasons for disliking Nicholas, who had objected to his being ambassador at Constantinople. He affected to believe that the concession Menshikov asked for would strengthen Russia's influence all over Turkey, as the Greek Churches were numerous, and persuaded the Porte to refuse. In consequence of this, Menshikov broke off the negotiations and left Constantinople on May 22nd, 1853. Lord Stratford, without any orders from home, had changed the whole aspect of affairs, and involved Great Britain in a dispute with which she had nothing to do. The result was that Russia threatened to send her armies across the Pruth, and to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, and the British Cabinet ordered the Mediterranean fleet to the Dardanelles, and placed its further movements in the hands of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

His Influence for War.

It is difficult to write with patience about these events, when reviewing the circumstances long after the curtain fell on the last act. As far as can be seen, the principal forces at work were in favour of peace. Nicholas was strongly opposed to war, and was shocked at the thought that the Union Jack should float side by side with the Crescent in opposition to the Cross of St. Andrew. The Queen and the Prince were strongly in favour of peace, and so were a majority of the Cabinet, especially Gladstone. Russell and Palmerston favoured a warlike policy, and the principal desire of Aberdeen was to keep his Cabinet together. But Lord Stratford de Redcliffe at Constantinople was determined for war, and unfortunately the Cabinet, by placing the control of the fleet in his hands, gave him the opportunity of making it. Terrible, indeed, is the responsibility which lies on the man who brings about an unnecessary war.

LORD STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE AND THE WAR

The Concert of the Powers Broken.

The Great Powers still worked for peace. They drew up a Note, originally drafted in France, but adopted at Vienna in July, which was to be presented simultaneously at Constantinople and St. Petersburg. It was accepted by the Tsar on August 3rd. But in the meantime Stratford de Redcliffe had composed an alternative Note, which he published and the adoption of which he urged. In Clarendon's name he advised the Porte to accept the Vienna Note, but his personal objection to it was well known, and the Porte, believing that it was sure of the support of Great Britain, refused. There is no doubt that, at this juncture, the Powers should have declined to support Turkey any further, for she had refused the Vienna Note, which Russia had accepted. Austria and Prussia continued to do their best for the acceptance of the Note by the Porte, but France and Great Britain did nothing. This broke up the concert of the four Powers.

Turkey Takes Action.

At the beginning of October, 1853, the Sultan, with the approval or at the suggestion of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, summoned Russia to evacuate the Principalities within fifteen days, and said that a refusal would be considered as a declaration of war. Omar Pasha, the commander of the Turkish army, actually crossed the Danube, and engagements occasionally took place between the two armies, although Russia announced that she had no intention of undertaking offensive operations, either in Europe or in Asia, during the winter. In the beginning of December a new Note was drawn up by the four Powers, which it was hoped would be satisfactory to both belligerents. But Stratford de Redcliffe, urged on by France, advised the entrance of the British and French fleets into the Black Sea, under the pretence of bringing off the consuls from Varna, and of looking after the grain ships at the Sulina mouth of the Danube.

The Queen and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

On November 27th the Queen wrote to Aberdeen that the perusal of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's dispatches gave her the strongest impression that, while guarding himself from the possibility of being called to account for acting in opposition to his instructions, he was plunging deeper and deeper into the war policy, from which escape would be difficult; wherefore should three poor Turkish steamers go to the Crimea, but to beard the Russian fleet and tempt it to come out of Sebastopol, which would thus constitute the much-desired contingency for the combined fleets to attack it, and so commit Great Britain irretrievably? The Queen seriously called upon Lord Aberdeen and the Cabinet to consider whether they were justified in allowing such a state of things to continue.

"Massacre of Sinope."

At the very time this letter was written, the Tsar, harassed on all sides, allowed his squadron to leave Sebastopol and cruise in Turkish waters, and, three days later, a Turkish squadron, on its way from the Bosphorus to Batoum, was attacked at Sinope by a Russian fleet and virtually destroyed. This "massacre of Sinope," as it was called, was regarded in Great Britain as a humiliation and defiance, and aroused in that country and France feelings of strong indignation, and an almost irresistible desire for war. No one stopped to ask whether the incident had not been caused by the hostile action of the Western Powers, and whether it was not the natural answer of Russia to the order of the Western Powers, given in September, for their fleets to pass the Dardanelles. The Tsar naturally desired to strike a blow at the Turkish navy before the Allies could intervene in its favour.

Declaration of War.

In the closing days of 1853 a new Note was drawn up, which was adopted by the Porte, and communicated by the four Powers to the Tsar on January 13th, 1854. But on the very day that the four Powers adopted their resolution, the British Minister at St. Petersburg communicated to Nesselrode the decision of the Western Powers, taken at the instance of France, to invite all Russian ships to return to Sebastopol. Nicholas refused in these circumstances to answer the new proposal, and in the beginning of February the Russian Ministers were withdrawn from Paris and London, and the British and French Ministers from St. Petersburg. War, however, did not immediately break out, and Austria offered to join France and Great Britain in urging the evacuation of the Principalities by a fixed date. But the passions of the nations were already beyond control. British indignation at the so-called massacre of Sinope was so insistent that the popular demand for war could not be denied. Without waiting for a formal arrangement with Austria, the Western Powers addressed an ultimatum to Russia, and, on the Tsar declining to notice it, declared war.

CHAPTER XIII

ALMA, BALAKLAVA AND INKERMAN

ONE of the most painful things in the outbreak of a war is the madness which seizes upon the populace and makes war inevitable, even before statesmen have determined that it is necessary. This was not absent in the case of the war with Russia. Ignorant of the real matters in dispute, careless of the object to be gained, negligent of the means by which it was to be obtained, the people, the Parliament, the Press of the United Kingdom, all demanded war. There was an outbreak of popular indignation against Prince Albert, because of his supposed leanings towards peace, arising perhaps from some reminiscences of his previous misunderstanding with Palmerston, who was known to be favourable to war. A great fleet, such as Great Britain had hardly ever seen before, was assembled at Portsmouth. The command was given to Sir Charles Napier, of whom Aberdeen wrote that he mingled boldness with discretion, and that, if he had the faults of his family, he was not without their virtues; courage, generosity, and love of country were not wanting to him. On March 7th, Sir Charles was entertained at dinner by the Reform Club, where speeches were made by Lord Palmerston and Sir James Graham of a flippant and unbecoming character. After all, the great admiral did nothing; the Russian fleet was not captured or destroyed. Cronstadt was not even attacked, and Napier's inactivity passed into a proverb and reproach.

The British Fleet Inactive.

In April, 1854, about 20,000 British troops, under the command of Lord Raglan—who, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had been the intimate friend of Wellington, and had lost an arm at Waterloo—together with a French army of twice that strength, under the command of Marshal St. Arnaud, landed at Gallipoli, in the Dardanelles. They then removed to Varna, where a council of war was held to decide upon further operations. Fuad Pasha recommended a landing in Asia, with the purpose of driving the Russians from the Caucasus, a proposition which met with favour from the British. But St. Arnaud was in favour of an attack upon Sebastopol, and Lord Raglan agreed with him, as the best means of concentrating the naval power of Russia in the Black

The Armies of the Allies.

Sea. Omar Pasha was defending the line of the Danube, and 1,500 men of the allied armies had already perished in the pestilential swamps of the Dobrudscha. The Turks on the Danube were able to manage for themselves. The Russians under Paskevich attacked Silistria, but the garrison resisted, and on June 22nd the siege was raised. Indeed, the Russians were compelled to evacuate the Principalities. Now was the time for making peace, as the one object of the war had been realised. But when war has once begun the belligerents will not be satisfied without a substantial victory. Great Britain could not bear the thought of peace without the attainment of a national triumph.

The Duke of Cambridge and the Sultan.

Certainly the Sultan, on whose behalf these great sacrifices were being made, did not impress those who saw him for the first time as worthy of the outlay in money and, it might be, in life. The Duke of Cambridge, who was in command of the Guards, wrote from Constantinople in May that he was not struck either with the appearance or the ability of the Sultan, "a wretched creature, prematurely aged, having nothing to say for himself." The Duke found his Ministry, and the whole population of the country, a most wretched and miserable set of people, far, far worse than anything he could have imagined or supposed. "In fact, 'the sick man' is very sick indeed, and the sooner diplomacy disposes of him the better, for no earthly power can save him; that is very evident." The Duke was also of opinion that the sooner the Turks were turned out of Europe the better, and he added that he did not think that anyone was aware of the real state of affairs in Turkey. However, the question in people's minds was now not so much the regeneration of Turkey as the honour of the British arms and the abasement of Russia.

Attack on Sebastopol Planned.

Under these feelings an expedition against Sebastopol, the great arsenal of the Russians in the Black Sea, was decided on. The naval strength of Russia might be destroyed for years if Sebastopol were taken and the fleet sunk. On June 15th, 1854, *The Times* voiced the popular opinion by saying that the political and military objects of the war could not be obtained so long as Sebastopol and the Russian fleet were in existence, and on June 22nd it insisted that a successful enterprise against this place was the essential condition of permanent peace. On June 28th the Cabinet assembled at Lord John Russell's house at Richmond, and, after a very long discussion, sent instructions to Lord Raglan, in which the necessity of a prompt attack upon Sebastopol and the Russian fleet was strongly urged. The final decision was left to the discretion of the French and British commanders, after

they should have communicated with Omar Pasha. They were, indeed, both of them opposed to it, but Lord Raglan was of opinion that the terms of the dispatch left him no choice in the matter. Thus the war entered upon an entirely new and unnecessary phase. If peaceful councils had prevailed the failure of the Tsar's attack upon Turkey might have led to a satisfactory arrangement. Gladstone and those members of the Cabinet who agreed with him should have pressed their opposition to the point of resignation.

The Allies in the Crimea.

The allied forces landed on September 14th, 1854, a short distance from Eupatoria, on the west coast of the Crimean peninsula. This point had been chosen because there was sufficient space for the two armies to stand together, and the operations would be protected by the fire of the ships. It was four days before the whole of the forces were disembarked and in a condition to advance. The British numbered about 21,000 infantry, 60 guns, and the Light Brigade of cavalry, about 1,000 strong. The French had 28,000 infantry and the Turks 7,000, with 68 guns, but no cavalry. The advance began on September 19th, the French being on the right, next to the sea. The army moved straight towards Sebastopol, which was about twenty-five miles distant. The post road to Eupatoria ran through their positions, but the ground was such that the army could march anywhere, and roads were not needed. In the rear were the cattle, sheep, carriages and pack horses, and behind all came the cavalry, to keep the throng in motion.

Disposition of the Armies.

The enemy were first seen at the River Bulganak, which was reached early in the afternoon. After a few shots had been interchanged, the army bivouacked by the river and were unmolested during the night. Next morning, the march was continued towards a succession of grey ridges, and about noon, from the top of a ridge, the army looked down upon the valley of the Alma, a name destined to be great in history. The Russians were posted on the opposite side, with an army of 33,000 infantry, 3,400 cavalry, and 120 guns, all commanded by Prince Menshikov. On coming in sight of the enemy, the Allies halted, while the commanders arranged the order of the attack, which was delivered on September 20th. Military critics are of opinion that on neither side was any great tactical skill exhibited. It would have been better if the British had neglected the difficult ground near the sea, moved their forces beyond the post road and enveloped the Russian right with their superior numbers. On the other hand, the Russians might have massed their forces upon the road to Simpheropol, concentrating for an attack upon the British left. Neither of these courses was taken.

The Battle of the Alma.

The allied columns advanced towards the stream, and the Russians retired, first setting fire to the village of Burliuk, but the ground was not of such a nature as to allow the Allies to deploy with advantage, and the efficiency of the troops was spoilt by crowding. The stream was in some places shallow, with occasional deep parts, in which the soldiers stood up to their necks in water. As they climbed the slopes on the other side, they suffered much from the fire of the Russian batteries, especially from a heavy battery which plunged its shot into Codrington's division and checked his advance. The Grenadier and the Coldstream Guards continued to advance steadily, in lines still unbroken, except where they were struck by the enemies' shot, their advance producing a great effect on the French. The Highlanders also climbed the hill to the left of the Guards and the whole of the British army began to close upon the enemy. The steady pressure of the Guards and the Highlanders finally decided the battle, and the Russian forces began to retreat all over the ground. In the meantime, Canrobert's division of the French army had occupied the Telegraph Hill, and the allied forces, which had been separated in the engagement, were now connected again. Lord Raglan was anxious to pursue the enemy in their retreat, but St. Arnaud would not allow his men to march without their knapsacks, which they had left behind. In the battle the British lost 2,000 men, killed and wounded, the French probably a much smaller number. The Russian losses amounted to nearly 6,000.

A Russian Advantage.

If the Allies had advanced at once, they might have entered Sebastopol unopposed, but they remained two days on the battle-field, burying the dead and tending the wounded. On the third day the march was resumed, and on September 24th the army crossed the Belbek. They had now reached a point from which the town and fortifications of Sebastopol could be seen at no great distance, and the question arose whether the city should be attacked at once from the north side. The delay at the Alma enabled Prince Menshikov to carry out two momentous decisions. He blockaded the harbour by sinking the Russian fleet at its entrance, and leaving the town and fortress to be protected by the crews of the smaller ships. He withdrew his own army to a position towards the north-east, in order to watch the movements of the Allies, and at the same time secure his communication with Russia. St. Arnaud came to the conclusion that it was impossible to attack Sebastopol on the north side with any prospect of success. It could not be accomplished by the army alone, and it was now impossible to

employ the fleet. It was, therefore, determined to march around Sebastopol and attack it from the south.

Capture of Balaklava.

The march began at noon on September 25th, the army passing Mackenzie's farm and the Traktir bridge, where the road to Balaklava crosses the Tchernaia. The next day from a high ground was seen the harbour of Balaklava, a deep port, lying between opposing cliffs, crowned with walls and towers. An English steamer soon made her appearance in the harbour, showing that it had been captured, and communication with the fleet was established. Only four shots had been fired by the garrison, the commandant, being asked why he had fired at all, said that he thought that he was bound to do so, until he was summoned to surrender. No one was wounded on either side. The French crossed the Tchernaia on the same day. It was soon seen that Balaklava was of very little value and was not what the map represented it to be. As the British were in possession of it, the French gave up their position on the right, which was taken by the British, together with the harbour, an arrangement which proved a fruitful cause of disaster. The armies now took up the positions which they were to occupy till the end of the war. Above them was the broad plain of the Tauric Chersonesus, on which, for nearly a year, their lives were to be passed, and on which many were to die.

Decision to Bombard Sebastopol.

If the fortress had been assaulted on September 28th, it might have been taken without loss. Sir George Cathcart declared that he could walk into the place without the loss of a man, and the Russians have expressed the same opinion. Indeed, the Cabinet had reckoned upon this, and had made no preparations for a winter campaign. Three-fourths of the troops arrived before the town without their knapsacks, with no tents and no change of clothing. The army brought with it the seeds of cholera, and, if it were not intended to take Sebastopol by assault, it was a mistaken policy to be in the Crimea at all. However, Canrobert, who, on the death of St. Arnaud, had succeeded to the command of the French army, thought it dangerous to advance, and his opinion was shared by Sir John Burgoyne, who commanded the Engineers. They decided that it was better to bombard the place before storming it, and they were consequently compelled to wait till October 17th, the earliest day they could put their siege-train in position.

It happened that there were present among the Russians in Sebastopol at this time two men of genius, Kornilov and Todleben. Kornilov had been admiral of the sunken fleet. He was a man of

enthusiastic nature, with that unfaltering faith in his Sovereign, his country, and his God which inspires so many persons in his wonderful country. He was killed at the opening of the siege, but the spirit which had animated him lived after him. Todleben was an engineer of unlimited patience and resource, who knew how to make earthworks, and was well aware of their value. The delays of the Allies gave him the opportunity of turning Sebastopol into an impregnable fortress. He used the twenty days required to bring up the Allies' siege-train in procuring the help of the dockyard labourers and the resources of the arsenal to strengthen his defences, and, when the bombardment began, the assailants had before them an object of attack worthy of their supremest efforts.

The Bombardment of Sebastopol.

The fire opened at daybreak on October 17th, both from the batteries and from the fleet, one of the fiercest bombardments known to history. The Allies had imagined that the defences of Sebastopol would fall before them like the walls of Jericho, and they would walk in as conquerors. The result was entirely different. The ships sustained some injury themselves, but effected little loss on the enemy. The British succeeded in dominating the Russian fire, but the French had no advantage, and the explosion of a magazine in their lines disheartened their troops and silenced their batteries. The Russians repaired at night the effects of the day's attack, and Sebastopol was actually stronger after the bombardment, which was intended to be fatal, than when the Allies arrived before it.

Numbers of the Contending Armies.

At the end of October, the British army, including the sailors landed from the fleet, numbered about 25,000 combatants, the French were about 40,000. At the Battle of the Alma the Allies had only about 40,000 men against them, but during the six weeks which followed Menshikov was largely reinforced. The concentration of the Allies at Sebastopol had left all the roads from Russia open, and the surrender of the Principalities set free a large number of men for service in the Crimea, so that, by the end of October, the Russian army was not less than 130,000 men strong, twice the number of the Allies. Menshikov was now able to take the offensive, and he first struck at the port of Balaklava. We must give some description of the ground.

The outer harbour of Sebastopol is about four miles long from its entrance in the Black Sea to the point where the Tchernaia flows into it. The water in it is extremely deep, even close to the shore. It was defended, at its entrance, by two shore forts, bearing the name of Constantine and Alexander, as well as the Quarantine

Fort outside and the Artillery Fort inside. There was also an inner harbour, a mile and a half long, starting from the southern shore of the great harbour, at about a mile from its entrance, defended at its mouth by two forts named Nicholas and Paul.

Positions of the Allies.

Sebastopol stands on the western shore of this inner creek and on the opposite side was the Karabelnaia suburb, which contained the barracks for the garrison. There was also, on the same side, a creek on which the dockyards were built, and about a mile from the inner harbour, on the same side, ran the so-called Careenage Bay, terminated by Careenage Creek. The allied armies were posted on a plateau separated from the valley of the Tchernaia by a wall of cliff, which, at its termination, formed the boundary of the harbour of Balaklava. The plateau is channelled by many chasms and ravines and is marked by elevations, which afterwards became well known as the Malakov, the Redan, and other similar names. The extreme point of the Chersonesus, in this direction, bore the name of Cape Cherson, and just to the north of it lie the two inlets of Kazatch and Kamiesch, which were used by the French as their sea base, and were far superior to Balaklava, which had been assigned to the British.

The two harbours were connected with the French positions by a paved road. The depression which forms the inner harbour is connected by a ravine, which for some time formed the line of separation between the French and the British armies. There was also an important feature called the Woronzov Road, which connected the Woronzov estate at Yalta with Sebastopol, and crossed the Valley of Balaklava. A branch of this road crossed the Tchernaia and went along the heights, by Mackenzie's farm to Bakhtchiserai. By this road the Russians were able to approach Balaklava without coming into the range of the allied batteries placed upon the plateau.

Todleben's Defences.

Todleben, to strengthen the defence, built the Star Fort on the south side of the harbour, and on the same side completed the defences which had been traced years before. These consisted of the Redan, the Little Redan, batteries at Careenage Bay, and a semicircular tower called the Malakov, built of stone, 4 feet thick, 28 feet high, and 50 feet across. By September 26th Todleben had armed this place with 172 pieces of ordnance. On October 2nd, before the siege began, all non-combatants were sent out of the town, the works were strengthened every day, and a ship of 84 guns was moored at the head of the harbour.

As we have indicated, the valley between Balaklava and the Tchernaia is crossed by a line of low hills, along which lies the

Woronzov Road. Four of these hills had been crowned with earthworks of very slight description, armed with nine twelve-pounder guns, and a high hill at the south-eastern corner had been fortified and named Canrobert Hill after the new French commander. On October 25th the Russians with a body of 22,000 infantry, a large force of cavalry, and 78 guns, crossed the Tchernaia, and began to bombard Canrobert Hill. The fire was returned by the forts, and afterwards by the batteries of artillery, supported by the Scots Greys. When it appeared that the attack was more formidable than was anticipated, the British divisions and a French brigade were sent to the scene of action, but, instead of descending into the valley, they marched along the heights. They saw the Russians storm Canrobert Hill, killing many of the Turks who occupied the redoubt, and putting the rest to flight. There was a danger of the Russians securing the shipping and stores at Balaklava, which were only protected by the 93rd Regiment, under Sir Colin Campbell, who, however, was equal to the trial.

The Heavy Brigade at Balaklava.

Two brigades of British cavalry were at this time moving on different sides of the ridge, the Light Brigade, numbering 600 on the side towards the Tchernaia, and the Heavy Brigade, numbering 900, on the side towards Balaklava. The Heavy Brigade was commanded by General Scarlett. Scarlett did not know that he was marching, with a comparatively small force, across the face of a huge body of Russian cavalry. When he discovered this fact, he wheeled his little force into position and prepared to attack. The Russians, instead of charging, received the onslaught at the halt, and the British cut their way through the column. In eight minutes, the unwieldy column was broken and retreated to the eastern end of the valley. The glory of this magnificent exploit has been shared by the brilliant, but inexcusable, charge of the Light Brigade, which followed on the same date (October 25th).

Charge of the Light Brigade.

The Russian artillery still occupied the heights on the north, the Russian troops still held the guns which they had captured from the Turks, and a Russian army still held the eastern end of the valley. But the valley itself was clear of the enemy. Lord Raglan wished to recover the redoubts, on the south of the valley, which had been captured from the Turks, as their possession seemed necessary for the security of his base at Balaklava. He therefore ordered Cathcart to recapture them; but, the infantry moving slowly, decided to employ cavalry for the purpose. He gave the order, "Cavalry to advance and take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights. They will be supported by

the infantry, which have been ordered to advance on two fronts." On receiving this order, Lord Lucan moved the Heavy Brigade to the other side of the ridge, to await the promised support of the infantry. When it was seen that the Russians were attempting to carry off the guns they had captured, a second order was sent to Lord Lucan, in the following words: "Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troops of artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." The order was carried by Captain Nolan, who found Lord Lucan between his two brigades, divided by the Woronzov Road.

How the Light Brigade Returned.

Lord Raglan had intended the charge to be made against the defeated Russian cavalry, who had retreated down the valley towards the Tchernaia; but Lord Lucan, strengthened in his opinion by some blunder of Nolan's, understood the order to refer to a large body of Russians posted right in front, strongly supported on either side by artillery. Although both Lord Cardigan and Lord Lucan knew the charge to be desperate, they did not hesitate, and the order was given for the Brigade to advance. They moved at a steady trot, and in a minute came within the range of the cannon. After five minutes they found themselves exposed to the fire of twelve guns in front, and the pace was increased, but when they reached the battery more than half the Brigade had been killed or wounded, and the rest were now lost to view in the smoke of the guns. The Heavy Brigade moved in support, but had to retire with severe loss, and a brilliant diversion was effected by a regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique, sent by the French General Morris, whose well-directed charge saved many British lives. Behind the smoke of the guns the Light Cavalry drove the gunners off and charged parties of Russian cavalry, who retreated; but they soon had to retreat themselves, and rode back, singly, or in twos or threes, some wounded, some supporting wounded comrades. But when the Russian cavalry drew up across the valley to cut off the retreat of the British, the 8th Hussars and some of the 17th Lancers scattered them to right and left.

A Futile Effort.

The Brigade had lost 247 men killed and wounded. The Russians were left in undisturbed possession of the three hills which they had captured, with their seven guns. The charge of the Light Brigade will be remembered for ever; that of the Heavy Brigade is well-nigh forgotten; but, while Scarlett led his men to a gallant and successful feat of arms, Cardigan's squadrons were the victims of an unhappy blunder. The French character-

ised the operation in their well-known phrase, "*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*"

"Sand-bag Battery."

The plateau above Sebastopol, upon which the allied forces were encamped, was accessible to the Russians at many points, but especially by the Careenage Ravine, which was a continuation of the Careenage Harbour. At noon on October 25th, the day of the Battle of Balaklava, a Russian force of six battalions and four light field guns, came out of the town and ascended the ravine and the slope which led to the camp of the Second Division. They threw a heavy fire on Mount Inkerman, but were easily repelled by De Lacy Evans, who was in command of the British troops opposed to them, and who gradually withdrew his pickets and dispersed the enemy with artillery. It is probable that the object of the Russians was to establish a redoubt on Shell Hill, in order to cover a more serious attack to be made at a future time. In order to prevent them, the British built a battery upon an advanced ridge, armed it with two eighteen pounders, and called it the "Sand-bag Battery." When it had done its work of clearing the Russians its guns were removed, but the post became important in future operations.

Before Inkerman.

On November 4th it was known on both sides that a crisis was impending. The allied infantry before Sebastopol now consisted of 31,000 French, 16,000 British, and 11,000 Turks. The French siege corps was endeavouring to retrieve its disaster of October 17th. The British were strengthening their batteries and replenishing their magazines, and their daily loss of men was not so large as that of the Russians. A meeting of the allied commanders had been summoned for November 5th, to concert measures for delivering the final assault. The total of Menshikov's forces in and around Sebastopol was not less than 100,000 men, without counting the seamen, so that about 115,000 men were opposed to 50,000.

In the early dawn of Sunday, November 5th, the bells of the churches were celebrating the arrival at Sebastopol of the young Grand Dukes, Michael and Nicholas. Menshikov chose that day for a great battle, and it was his purpose to drive the Allies from the Crimea by an attack all along the line. He felt himself strong enough to threaten at all points, and to strike at many; but his main plan was aimed at a rocky eminence on the right flank of the British army. Simonov was to move up the Careenage Ravine with 19,000 infantry and 38 guns; Paulov was to advance along the Woronzov Road, round the bridge of the Tchernaia, with 16,000 infantry and 96 guns; whilst Gortshakov was to support the grand

attack with a division, and the garrison of Sebastopol was to cover the right flank of the attacking force with its artillery fire. When the two bodies of Simonov and Paulov had effected their juncture they were to be commanded by General Dannenberg.

An Early Morning Attack.

The ground which was the object of the main attack was occupied by about 3,100 men of the Second Division, and three-quarters of a mile behind them was the Brigade of Guards, numbering 1,330 men. Two miles in the rear of the Second Division were the nearest troops of Bosquet's Army Corps. Simonov left Sebastopol in the middle of the night, and, passing to the Careenage Ravine, began to form the order of battle at about 6 a.m. He did not wait for Paulov, but began the attack at once. He placed twenty-two heavy guns on Shell Hill and opened fire and attacked with his columns at about 7 a.m. The pickets of the Second Division, commanded by General Pennefather, in the absence, through illness, of De Lacy Evans, were driven back; but the main body was moved forward to support them, the crest being held by twelve nine-pounder guns. The morning was foggy and the ground muddy, but the mist was sufficient to conceal from the Russians that the troops attacked had no immediate support.

The Struggle of Inkerman.

Simonov assaulted the British left, the troops, fortunately, being in ignorance of the enormous numbers opposed to them. By extraordinary acts of personal prowess and daring seven out of the fourteen battalions were repulsed, and Simonov himself was killed. Paulov, advancing up the Quarry Ravine from the Tchernaia, was not more successful. The 41st Regiment, numbering 525, drove five battalions of Russians, numbering 4,000, down the hills. When General Dannenberg arrived a new action began. He brought with him about 19,000 infantry and 90 guns, and attacked the centre and right of the British position. But by this time the British had received reinforcements. Cathcart had come with 400 men of the Fourth Division, but his troops suffered heavily, and he was himself shot dead. Indeed, the British right was in considerable danger, until a French regiment came to its assistance.

Finally, the Russians made a third attack with 6,000 men, the Allies being able to meet them with 5,000, the Russian artillery still having the predominance. Issuing from the Quarry Ravine, they attacked the British centre and left, and met with considerable success. They penetrated as far as the Careenage Ravine and spiked some British guns. The attack was finally

repulsed by the combined efforts of the French and British, and it was all over by eleven o'clock.

The Effect of Inkerman.

The Battle of Inkerman was without decisive results to either side. The British had not the numbers, nor the French the desire to turn the defeat into a rout. The early gloom of a November evening descended upon the battle-field. The Russian losses were said to be 12,000 killed and wounded. The British lost 597 killed and 1,760 wounded; the French, 143 killed and 786 wounded. This shows that the Allies had acted mainly on the defensive, and had spent their efforts in driving back the Russians. The heavy Russian losses were mainly due to the fact that they persisted in attacking by columns, whereas, if they had thrown out skirmishers, they would have been more successful. The British losses, also, would have been less severe if they had trusted more to their artillery. The battle, however, had a great moral effect, and the Russians lost all hope of driving the Allies from the plateau they occupied. At the same time, the losses of the Russians had been more than double those of the Allies, the conditions of the campaign were altered, and all idea of an immediate assault on the part of the Russians was given up.

Sufferings of the Allied Armies.

It became evident that the Allies would have to remain in the Crimea during the winter. But no preparations had been made for this contingency. It had been difficult enough to provide the army with the arms and ammunition necessary for the bombardment, and nothing had been done to furnish the soldiers with what was absolutely necessary for their health. Even those who were wounded in battle or struck down with cholera had neither adequate shelter nor the necessary medical comforts. Matters were made worse by a terrible storm on November 14th. Up to this time the tents had stood in dry and level spaces of turf, and it had been possible to supply the rations for men and horses with tolerable regularity. But the storm changed all this. It tore down whole camps and scattered them on the plain, so that there was no refuge for the men when they returned from the trenches. The sick and wounded were without protection, quantities of food and forage were spoilt, and communications with Balaklava were interrupted. Twenty-one vessels in or near the harbour were dashed to pieces, among them the *Prince*, a magnificent steamer, containing stores of every kind which the Government could think of for the comfort of the troops, besides twenty days' hay for the horses. The French lost their most beautiful vessel, the *Henri IV.*, and the storm affected the Russians as well as the Allies.

THE HORRORS OF SEBASTOPOL

Winter in the Crimea.

After the storm came the snow. The sick and wounded had to lie in mud, and the trenches were often deep in water. The soldiers were afraid to pull off their boots, lest they should not be able to draw them on again. The difficulty of cooking induced the men to devour their rations raw, and this largely increased the number of the sick. There was, it is true, a sufficiency of salt meat, biscuits, and rum, but there was little variety, and means of preparing it were lacking. There was stored at Balaklava plenty of flour, rice, fuel, vegetables, tea, but there was no Army Service Corps to convey these supplies to the front. The sufferings of the animals were frightful; they died all round the camp and on the road to Balaklava, and lay unburied where they died. The labour of toiling through the muddy roads to Balaklava to fetch their own forage killed many horses on each journey. The result was that by the end of November the British had nearly 8,000 men in hospital. The great hospital was at Scutari, close to Constantinople, and the journey thither proved the death of many. The hospital itself was said to be "crammed with misery, overflowing with despair."

Superiority of French Organisation.

It is true that every effort was made both at home and on the spot to remedy these disasters, and on January 13th, 1855, Lord Raglan was able to write, "I believe I may assert that every man in the army has received a second blanket, a jersey frock, flannel drawers and socks, and some kind of winter coat in addition to his ordinary great coat," but still the number of the sick mounted up till it reached 14,000. The French were better off, because their harbours were more convenient: their transport was well organised, and the sea was at a shorter distance. On the other hand, their tents were a very inadequate protection against the weather, and their rations were barely sufficient to keep them in health. They lost many men from sickness, especially frostbite. Still, they received reinforcements, so that in January they had 78,000 men on the plateau, whereas the British had only 11,000 men fit to bear arms. Lord Raglan admitted that the numbers of the French were at least four times those of his own troops. Canrobert, therefore, relieved the British from the duty of guarding part of their ground, and this set free 1,500 men.

Florence Nightingale.

As we have said, strenuous efforts were made to relieve these sufferings. A Crimean Army Fund was established in England, by means of which not only necessaries, but luxuries, were poured into the camps. Sidney Herbert, also, the Secretary for War, succeeded in introducing a better system of management into

the hospitals at Constantinople. Florence Nightingale, whose name must ever be held in reverence by English-speaking people, arrived at Scutari on November 4th, 1854, accompanied by eighteen Protestant sisters and nurses and twenty trained nurses. She organised the management of the hospital on a new plan, which became the pattern of modern scientific nursing. Improvements, however, were slow to take effect, and in the four winter months nearly nine thousand soldiers died in the hospitals.

The Ministry Condemned.

Such was the result of the war which had been entered into with such lightheartedness and begun with so much enthusiasm. The then rising generation had had no experience of war in Europe. For the first time in the history of war newspaper correspondents at the front were writing home vivid accounts and impressions of what they saw with their own eyes. The public felt that they themselves had largely been the cause of these misfortunes, but scrupled not to call for the punishment of the men whom they had driven into a course of action of which their better judgment disapproved. When Parliament met on January 23rd, 1855, Mr. Roebuck gave notice that he would move for a Committee of Inquiry. Lord John Russell immediately resigned, on the ground that he had strongly urged the reorganisation of the War Office in the previous autumn, and he felt he could not defend in public arrangements he had condemned in private. His retirement made the defence of the Ministry impossible. After two nights' debate it was defeated by the large majority of 305 to 148, and Lord Aberdeen resigned the Premiership.

Ascendency of Palmerston.

Thus ended the career of a man who deserved a better fate. He had been an excellent Foreign Minister under Peel, but was unfit for the position of a leader on strong lines. He could not command his own Cabinet, nor restrain the efforts of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, aided by Lord Palmerston, to plunge the country into what he knew to be an indefensible war. When he resigned, public opinion pointed to Lord Palmerston as his successor, and after a vain attempt to secure the services of Lord Derby, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord John Russell, the Queen was obliged to send for the Minister whom, above all others, she and the Prince Consort especially disliked.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CRIMEAN WAR: THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE

The Four Points of Peace.

THE history of the Crimean War during the year 1855 can now be written with more fullness and accuracy, in consequence of the publication of the letters of Queen Victoria. In the autumn of 1854 the Tsar was desirous of peace, and at the beginning of 1855 agreed to accept the Four Points originally put forward by the four Powers, together with the interpretation now put upon them. The Four Points were: the cessation of the Russian protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia and Servia; the privileges granted by the Sultan to the Principalities to be effectually guaranteed by the Powers; the free navigation of the Danube and the termination of the preponderance of the Russian power in the Black Sea; and abandonment by Russia of her claim to protect any subjects of the Porte. The Queen, however, thought it most important that Sebastopol should first be taken. Before Parliament met she showed her confidence in Lord Aberdeen by forcing upon him the Order of the Garter, which he was extremely reluctant to receive.

Lord John Russell's Desertion.

Lord John Russell, as has been seen, left the Ministry at the first intimation of Mr. Roebuck's Commission of Inquiry. The Queen was surprised and disgusted at this conduct, and expressed these feelings to him in a strong and abrupt letter. Aberdeen was shocked at being deserted without notice or warning, so that the only object could be to upset the Government. Palmerston was equally scandalised at Russell's conduct, and wrote him a scolding letter; but the Cabinet felt that without Lord John they could not go on and determined to resign. The Queen protested against this as exposing her and the country to the greatest peril, since it was impossible to change the Government at the moment without altering the whole policy of the nation in diplomacy and war. Yielding to the Queen's wishes, the Ministry resolved to meet Mr. Roebuck's motion, though with little hope of success. Lord Palmerston became leader of the House of Commons, and at 2 a.m. on January 30th announced to the Queen that Mr. Roebuck's motion had been carried with a majority of 157, a large number of Liberals voting in the majority. The

Tories, however, refused to regard the division as a party triumph. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon Aberdeen came down to Windsor and tendered the unanimous resignation of the Cabinet.

Roebuck's Commission of Inquiry.

It seemed almost as if the Premiership might go a-begging. The Queen tried first one statesman, then another, but for two or three days to no purpose, reluctance to serve with Lord John Russell being at the root of the difficulty. Finally, and in despair, she was at length obliged to solicit the co-operation of Lord Palmerston, who handsomely undertook to come to his Sovereign's rescue. But the Queen's troubles were not yet ended. Roebuck determined to proceed with the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry, and the Government did not oppose it. Mr. Gladstone and his friends, Sidney Herbert and the Duke of Argyll (who had consented to join Palmerston on the assurance that his policy would not be bellicose), were of opinion that this action was most unconstitutional, a most presumptuous and most dangerous course, after which it would be impossible for the Executive ever to oppose again the most absurd and preposterous demands for inquiry. Therefore, on February 21st, they retired from the Cabinet. The Queen wrote to her uncle, " We have lost our three best men—certainly from the best and purest of motives, but the result is unfortunate. Altogether affairs are very unsettled and unsatisfactory. The good people here are a little alarmed, but I feel sure that it will right itself. Lord John's return to office under Lord Palmerston is most extraordinary." Another cause of anxiety was the determination of the Emperor of the French to go to the Crimea, a course to which the Queen, Prince Albert, Lord Palmerston, and the Emperor's own advisers were strongly opposed. Eventually it was averted, but it had been determined that if he did go Lord Cowley was to accompany him.

Death of the Emperor Nicholas.

On March 2nd, 1855, a dispatch was received at Windsor from The Hague, saying that the Emperor Nicholas had died that morning at 1 a.m. of pulmonic apoplexy after an attack of influenza. He really died of a broken heart, the final blow being given by the defeat of the Russians by the Turks at Eupatoria. In this place Omar Pasha had collected about 30,000 men, and the Russians, feeling that both Perekop and Simpheropol were threatened, ordered Wrangel to drive them out. The Russians were entirely defeated and driven back with great loss. Thereupon Menshikov resigned the command, and Gortshakov took his place. The Emperor felt the blow keenly, although in his letters he did everything he could to spare the feelings of the defeated generals. On February 27th he caught a chill at a review

of the Imperial Guard, and died three days afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Alexander II. The news of the Tsar's death reached Sebastopol on March 6th, and was communicated by Canrobert to General Osten Sacken. Both sides hoped that it might hasten the conclusion of peace, but meanwhile the operations went on.

Struggle for the Green Hill.

The allied generals were of opinion that the fall of Sebastopol could only be brought about by the capture of the Karabelnaian suburb, and that this could only be effected by their becoming masters of the Malakov Tower, for which purpose the occupation of the Green Hill was necessary. Todleben, however, succeeded in establishing a lunette on the Green Hill, and by a system of earthworks, partly under ground and partly over, greatly impeded the siege. Between March 13th and March 31st there were four skirmishes between the Russians and the French. On April 19th Rear-Admiral Istovich was killed on the Green Hill and buried in the cathedral near to Komilov. On the night of March 22nd a sortie was made by Kulov, but without success. Eight Russian officers and nearly 400 men were slain and more than 1,000 wounded; the French lost 600 killed and wounded; and the British fewer. This sortie was the most murderous of the whole siege, and an armistice was arranged for the burial of the dead and the care of the wounded. At the same time the besieging forces were increased by Turkish troops, which Omar Pasha brought from Eupatoria.

A Terrific Bombardment.

A great bombardment was arranged for April 9th. The previous day was Easter Sunday, the most important festival of the Russian year, and the troops decorated their new fortifications with sacred pictures, and the clergy offered prayers for the success of the Russian arms. Women and children ventured into the trenches to give the Easter kiss to their husbands and fathers. There was laughing and singing in the cheerful throng, which was unconscious of the fate which awaited them next day. During the night the weather, till then fine, changed to torrential rain. At 5 o'clock in the morning 520 cannons of the Allies opened fire and were answered by nearly 1,000 on the Russian side. In estimating the difficulties of the besiegers, we must remember that all artillery and ammunition had to be brought from the coast, that the batteries were 30 feet thick, and that the earth of which they were made had to be brought from a distance. By midday the fire of the besiegers was seen to be superior to that of the Russians. Breaches were made in the wall which united the Quarantine and the Central Bastion,

and several Russian forts were destroyed, notably those on the Green Hill. The Russians had lost 536 men, but the Allies determined not to storm the place, but to continue bombardment for ten days longer.

The Allies' Fatal Delay.

Todleben afterwards admitted that they might easily have become masters of the Flagstaff Bastion, and that this would have carried with it the fall of Sebastopol. But the Allies could not make up their minds. Niel, the new French general, believed that the Russians had in their trenches a number of concealed cannon, and said that an attack on Sebastopol would be rather in the nature of a battle than a storm, and that in a battle the ground must be favourable for the command of troops. Neither Canrobert nor Raglan could successfully oppose these views, and it is Todleben's opinion that this hesitation was increased by the fear of Russian mines. The ten days' bombardment, which had taken six months to prepare, and in which 254,000 projectiles were fired at a loss of the lives of 6,000 Russians, 1,584 French, and 205 British soldiers, must be pronounced an entire failure. The third day cost the life of General Buzot, who had laid the mine before the Flagstaff Battery, which held about 50,000 pounds of gunpowder. The explosion of this mine, on the evening of April 15th, was like a funeral salute to the general who had been the maker of it.

The Russian Shambles.

The condition of the Russian wounded during the ten days was incredible. In the ball-room of the Nobles Club sixty Sisters of the Cross tended the wounded. The floor was several inches deep in blood. In the next room the blood streamed down from the operating tables, and heaps of amputated limbs were thrown into casks. One of the most skilful operators was a sailor, Paskevich, who was specially expert in tying up arteries. The atmosphere of the room was a repulsive mixture of the odours of blood and chloroform and sulphur. When seen at night the scene can only be likened to the lower regions of Dante's Malebolge.

Neutralisation of the Black Sea.

It now became important that Austria should make up her mind to take decided action, that is, to force Russia to accept the Four Points under threat of declaring war. For this purpose representatives of the Powers interested were sent to Vienna—Lord John Russell from England, Emir Ali Pasha from Turkey, and Drouyn de l'Huys from France. The last-named, before proceeding to Vienna, went to London to discuss with Clarendon, Palmerston and Lansdowne the exact meaning of the Third Point, to which Russia had the strongest objection. Was the Black Sea to be entirely neutralised, that is, closed to the warships of all

nations, or only the numbers of the Russian fleet to be limited? The French Emperor was in favour of neutralisation, that is to say, that neither Russia nor Turkey should have ships in the Black Sea or Sea of Azov; that the harbours in these seas should be regarded as places of commerce, in which consuls might be established; that any concentration of troops which might threaten the security of the neighbouring States should be illegal; and that, if these conditions were not observed, Great Britain, France, and Austria should have the power of sending their fleets into the Black Sea. If it were preferred to proceed in a different manner, Russia and Turkey should be allowed to have only four ships of the line and four frigates in the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and a corresponding number of light, unarmed vessels for the transport of troops. France, Great Britain and Austria might have half these numbers, but Russia should not have the right of entrance into the Mediterranean. In case of danger, and at the command of the Porte, the whole fleets of the three Powers might pass the Bosphorus, and these Powers should also have the right of establishing consuls in the ports of the two seas.

Austria Favours Russia.

From London Drouyn de l'Huys went to Vienna, where he found Buol in favour of pressing the Four Points, but reluctant to declare war if they were not accepted, and preferring limitation to neutralisation. In his conversation with the Emperor, Drouyn de l'Huys said that the settlement of the Eastern Question was not so important as a good understanding between France and Austria; but it is doubtful whether in saying this he was expressing the real opinions of his Sovereign. Francis Joseph received these advances with caution. He had not forgotten that the Emperor of the French, when urging an Austrian alliance upon Hübner in Paris, had said, by way of threat, "I have confidence in Austria, but I suppose you know I could kindle a war in Austria as easily as I light this cigarette." The Austrian Emperor desired to treat Russia with as great tenderness as possible.

Failure of the Conference.

In the Conference it was found that Gortshakov was in favour of all limitations being removed and the straits being open to the warships of all nations. This was opposed by Russell and Ali Pasha. After Russell had left Vienna Gortshakov proposed that the straits should be closed as a rule, but that they might be opened to the fleets of all nations in case the Porte asked for assistance. But these propositions were futile. Drouyn de l'Huys had been ordered by the Emperor to consent either to neutralise the Black Sea or to limit the Russian fleet, and he had no authority

to accept any other proposals. As Austria and Russia were opposed to both conditions, the Conference, so far as France was concerned, came to an end, and the British representative had already left.

Visit of the Emperor and Empress to England.

Matters entered upon a new phase by the visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French to England. The charm and beauty of the young Empress delighted all hearts, her drive down Piccadilly being a triumphal procession. They were received at Windsor with great pomp and were lodged in the suite of apartments which had been arranged for the Emperor Nicholas in 1844. The Queen was deeply impressed both by the Emperor and the Empress. She wrote that "he is a very extraordinary man, with great qualities, there can be no doubt. I might almost say a mysterious man. He is evidently possessed of indomitable courage, unflinching firmness of purpose, self-reliance, perseverance, and great secrecy. To this should be added a great reliance on what he calls his star, and belief in omens and incidents as connected with his future destiny, which is almost romantic, and at the same time he is endowed with wonderful self-control, great calmness, even gentleness, and with a power of fascination the effect of which upon all those who become more intimately acquainted with him is most sensibly felt." She mentions that he had written in 1847, "Let us hope that the day may yet come when I shall carry out the intentions of my uncle, by uniting the policy and interests of England and France in an indissoluble alliance. That hope cheers and energises me. It forbids me repining at the altered fortunes of my family." She wrote of the Empress, "I am sure you would be charmed with the Empress; it is not such great beauty, but such great elegance, sweetness, and nature. Her manners are charming; the profile and figure beautiful and particularly *distinguée*."

Councils of War at Windsor.

Advantage was taken of the Emperor's presence at Windsor to hold two councils of war in the Castle. On April 18th Prince Albert stated that all present were opposed to the Emperor's going to the Crimea. Two days later another council was held, at which the Queen was present, in which detailed arrangements were made for the prosecution of the siege. The journey of the Emperor was left uncertain, but all idea of peace was to be postponed until a decisive victory should be gained by the fall of Sebastopol. On hearing of this Drouyn de l'Huys resigned. He could no longer follow the Emperor in his foreign policy. He knew or suspected his ulterior designs with regard to Italy; these designs were, indeed, partly revealed by the accession of Sardinia

to the alliance and the dispatch of an Italian contingent to the seat of war. Drouyn de l'Huys knew that the foreign policy of the Emperor was now at the parting of the ways. For himself, he preferred that which represented the traditional policy of France to that which arose from the private objects of the Napoleonic dynasty.

Attempt on Napoleon's Life.

In fact the Emperor was reminded of his engagements towards Italy by an attempt upon his life made by an Italian, Pianori, who fired two pistol-shots at him in the Champs Élysées, neither of which took effect. Pianori was guillotined, and the Emperor, feeling more acutely the uncertainty of his position, gave up the journey to the Crimea. The place of Drouyn de l'Huys was taken by Walewski, who had been ambassador in London. He was a natural son of Napoleon I., whom he resembled in a striking manner.

Austria's Negotiations with Russia.

At the end of May Buol made a proposal that the number of Russian troops in the Black Sea, now greatly reduced, should not be increased, and that any addition to the Russian ships should be followed by an addition to those of the Powers. He offered to present this as an ultimatum to Russia, and to declare war if it were rejected, but this proposal was declined by the Powers. Buol then proposed a private arrangement between Russia and Turkey, which Gortshakov accepted. A further proposal of Buol's, that the Russian fleet in the Black Sea should not exceed its present diminished number, was taken by Gortshakov *ad referendum*, as he knew that Great Britain and France would never consent to it.

Russia, however, had gained her object in keeping Austria neutral. When Gortshakov left Vienna Francis Joseph thanked him for his conciliatory attitude, and the Russians believe that he gave him an assurance that Austria would never take up a hostile attitude towards his country. The conduct of Austria in these matters had been wavering and uncertain, but it must be remembered that her finances were in a very bad condition, and that for her war meant bankruptcy. The heads of the Austrian War Office were also opposed to war. France and Great Britain were disgusted with her temporising policy, and made known to her that in any peaceful arrangement which they might eventually make with Russia they should not feel bound to consider the interests of Austria.

In the council held at Windsor on April 20th, it had been determined that a body of 60,000 men would be required to hold the trenches and the town after it was taken, and that the rest

of the allied army should be used for defensive purposes as might be necessary, so that the army should be divided into two sections, one for the siege and the other for general operations. The 60,000 men of the besieging army should be composed of 30,000 French and 30,000 Turks, and be under the command of Canrobert; the army of operations should be made up of 25,000 British and 15,000 Sardinian troops, to which should be added, if possible, 5,000 French and 10,000 Turks. This should be under the command of Lord Raglan. A second army of operations should be composed of the remaining 45,000 French already before Sebastopol and 25,000 more who were now at Constantinople in reserve. This army of 70,000 French should be under the direct command of the Emperor, or of some general whom he might appoint. Before these arrangements were known, the assault was fixed for April 28th, but on the news that the steamers were under orders to bring the reserve from Constantinople the plan of an assault was given up.

The Plan of Attack on Sebastopol.

On May 5th Niel took the place of Buzot in command of the engineers, and on May 17th Pélissier succeeded Canrobert, who had begun to have some difficulties with Lord Raglan, and now resumed the command of his own division. Pélissier had to choose between two plans of operation, either to cut off the communications between Sebastopol and Simpheropol or to proceed with the destruction of the southern works of defence. The latter course was chosen, partly because there were no trustworthy maps of the region with which the first alternative was concerned, and partly because operations in the interior might be deferred. At the same time he determined to make an attack on Kertch, and ordered Canrobert, supported by the Sardinians, to descend into the plain of the Tchernaia.

A French Success.

There was a difference of opinion between Niel and Pélissier, and Pélissier had the stronger will of the two. Niel was in favour of enclosing the whole of Sebastopol, but Pélissier urged that to take the Mackenzie Heights, which was necessary for this purpose, would be as costly as a storm. At the same time the united forces of the Allies amounted to 180,000 men, against the 100,000 which Russia could oppose to them, which gave some support to the views of Niel and the Emperor. Todleben now formed an entrenched camp, which commanded the flank of the French approaches and defended the Central and Quarantine Bastions, and Krilov threw up earthworks on the heights of Quarantine Bay. These works were attacked successfully by the French. The Russians suffered very serious losses, and became convinced that this kind of defence

was disastrous, and the iron ring which enclosed them grew gradually tighter.

The Allies' Improved Conditions.

On May 25th Pélissier made a movement which improved his position and secured himself from an attack in the rear. Some important ground was wrested from the Russians. The Sardinians secured for themselves an independent position, between the French and British, and Omar Pasha pitched his camp close to the redoubts which had been lost in the Battle of Balaklava. The line of the Allies was thus extended and strengthened, and their encampment was made more sanitary, with a good supply of forage and water.

Capture of the Mamelon.

The bombardment began on June 6th. It was agreed that the French should attack both the Careenage Bay redoubts and the Green Hill, or Mamelon, while the British should occupy the Quarries before the Great Redan. On June 7th, just before sunset, the signal for the attack was given by Bosquet from the Lancaster Battery and by Pélissier from the Victoria Redoubt. The French, under Leconte and Failly, successfully stormed the two redoubts opposed to them, and 400 Russians, including twelve officers, were taken prisoners. The storming of the Mamelon was more difficult, but, after a severe struggle, it was eventually carried. The British succeeded in taking the Quarries, and the conquered batteries were used against the Russians. On June 9th an armistice was proclaimed for burying the dead. The French loss was, in men 628 dead, 4,160 wounded, 379 missing, and in officers 69 dead, 203 wounded, and 4 missing. The British had lost altogether 693 men, and the loss of the Russians was estimated at 6,000, although they only admitted a loss of 2,500 men. Among the dead was General Tomosiev. The French had captured seventy-three guns in the Mamelon, of which twenty-one were of heavy calibre.

Pélissier and the Emperor.

This victory raised the spirit of the Allies. The generals were in favour of a storm along the whole line, but Pélissier insisted on limiting the attack to the Karabelnaia until the Malakov Tower and the Redan were in his hands. Pélissier was at this time much troubled by the interference of the Emperor, who was very anxious for the conquest of Simpheropol, and intimated to his master that unless he were trusted and allowed to carry out his own views he must resign the command.

It was now settled in a council of war held on June 15th that the fourth bombardment should begin on June 17th, and that simultaneously on June 18th (Waterloo Day) the French were to storm the Malakov Tower and the British the Redan. A demon-

stration should be made in the valley of the Tchernaia by the Sardinians and Turks, supported by five divisions of the French. This bombardment was so severe that by the evening all the Russian batteries were silenced and the Russian hospitals overcrowded with the wounded. The garrison of Sebastopol, consisting of 43,000 soldiers and 10,000 sailors, performed wonders of bravery and self-devotion.

Death of Lord Raglan.

But the attacks of June 18th failed. The French, by a mistake, began their advance too soon, and were forced to retreat. The Redan was stoutly defended, and the British were repulsed with severe losses. The Russians were correspondingly jubilant, and their thanksgivings for victory were heard in the allied camps. The failure of this attack, from which so much had been expected, cost the life of Lord Raglan. Five days later an officer of the staff wrote: "I fear that it has affected Lord Raglan's health; he looks far from well, and has aged very much latterly." On June 26th he was seized with cholera and died two days afterwards. Next morning Pélissier stood for more than an hour by the bed on which the corpse had been laid, crying like a child. On July 3rd the coffin, on a gun-carriage drawn by eight artillery horses, was taken to Kazatch, through a continuous line of British and French soldiers, and placed on board the *Caradoc*, the ship which had brought him from England. His place in the command was taken by General Simpson. Just before this Todleben had been wounded and had to leave the field of action, and on June 12th the Russians lost their most valiant champion, Admiral Paul Nakhimov.

Queen Victoria in Paris.

On the other hand, the position of the Allies before Sebastopol was far from favourable. Misunderstandings arose between the British and French commanders in the field, and there were grave doubts whether it would be possible to continue the siege of Sebastopol through another winter. At the same time Omar Pasha was anxious to leave the Crimea and to devote himself to the defence of the Caucasus. However, the visit of the Queen and the Prince to Paris, where they stood with the Emperor before the grave of the great Napoleon in the Invalides, strengthened the essential conditions of the alliance.

CHAPTER XV

THE CAPTURE OF SEBASTOPOL

IN the middle of August, 1855, the parallel of the Allies was only a short distance from the Malakov and the Little Redan, so that the question arose in the Russian camp whether it were better to continue a hopeless defence, or make an effort to drive the besiegers from their position. Gortshakov was opposed to an attack, and wrote in July to Dolgorouki, the Minister of War, that it would be madness to assault an enemy so strongly posted and fortified. It might be easy to gain a temporary success which would sound well to the public ear, but it would mean a loss of from 10,000 to 15,000 men, and necessitate the surrender of Sebastopol. It was urged, on the other hand, that the daily drain on the defenders of Sebastopol was very considerable, even when there was no special attack, and that when reinforcements arrived it would be better to employ them in the offensive against the Allies than allow them to waste away uselessly. Gortshakov gradually gave way, but determined to wait for the arrival of sixty cohorts of militia from the Central Provinces. The question was at last, by the Emperor's command, submitted to a council of war on July 30th, and the majority decided on an attack on the Tchernaia. Todleben, who was lying wounded at Belbek, was strongly opposed to this plan, and Gortshakov undertook it, although convinced it would fail. He wrote to Dolgorouki: "I march against the enemy because if I do not do so Sebastopol will shortly fall. The conditions of the attack are terrible. The position of the enemy is particularly strong. I have only 43,000 infantry against 60,000. If disaster follow it is not my fault. I have done my best, but, since my arrival in the Crimea, the task has been too hard for me." **Todleben's Fears.**

The position of the Allies on the Tchernaia was very strong. Balaklava lay to the south, Inkerman to the north, and the river to the east. In the centre Herbillon commanded nearly 18,000 men with 48 cannon, three divisions were in reserve, besides a strong cavalry division under Morris and the reserve of artillery. On the right were the Sardinians, and there were, besides, 10,000 Turks and 3,000 British under Scarlett. Two bridges crossed **Position of the Allies.**

the Tchernaia, one the Traktir Bridge, over which passed the road to Simpheropol, the other two miles distant, near the mouth of the river.

The Russians Attack.

Gortshakov's force was divided into two army corps, the first commanded by Read, and the second by Liprandi. There were also an infantry reserve, a cavalry reserve, and an artillery reserve. His whole army amounted to 60,000 or 70,000 men, of which only 45,000 could, according to Todleben, be made available for attack. The Russians left the Mackenzie Heights on the evening of August 15th. The general plan was that Read was to attack the French, and Liprandi the Sardinians, while Gortshakov was to assist one or the other as occasion might demand. A dense fog concealed the advance of the Russian army. When Gortshakov arrived on the field he found that nothing had been done, and sent to Read and Liprandi to ask what they were waiting for; it was time to begin. Read said, "Begin what?" and on the question being repeated said, "Good! tell the Prince that I will begin the cannonade." The Russians attacking the Sardinians at first forced them to retire, but under the orders of La Marmora they took up a strong defensive position.

The Fight at the Traktir Bridge.

Gortshakov was preparing to attack the Sardinians when he heard firing on the right wing. This came from Read, who, inspired by the retreat of the Sardinians, had attacked the French and driven them from the bridge across the river. However, reinforcements came up and the Russians were repulsed in their turn. Indeed, the assault was so severe that Read and the chief of his staff were killed. It was still early in the morning, and the mist concealed the movements of the Russians. They gained a temporary advantage in an attack on Division Failly, but did not know how to make use of it. The battle raged principally round the Traktir Bridge. When Pélissier was convinced that the attack on the Tchernaia was not a feint, he brought up fresh forces from the town. The Division Dulac came first, then the Division Levaillant, and last the Guards.

Retreat of the Russians.

La Marmora, when he had established himself safely in the Sardinian entrenchments, directed the Brigade Mollard, under his orders, to cover the right flank of the French. But the rout of the 19th Russian Division was already completed. The Russian cavalry began to retire. The Sardinians continued the pursuit, and Gortshakov rallied his forces beyond the range of the fire of the Allies. His right wing was protected by cavalry and his fresh forward movement was protected by artillery. The Sixth Division blocked the valley of Shulin. But the

Sardinians drove everything before them, and crossed the Tchernaia. The battle was now virtually at an end, and at three in the afternoon the Russians gave the order to retreat. On August 18th and 19th an armistice was proclaimed for the burying of the dead. Among the Russian dead were three generals and two colonels, and among the wounded eight generals and sixteen colonels. Out of 2,250 prisoners 1,750 were wounded. The Allies only lost 196 dead. The military conduct of Gortshakov was severely blamed. Paskevich said of him: "When the Emperor sent his whole army, except the Guards and the first corps, to the front he certainly must have intended that this Commander-in-Chief would do something, but neither the Emperor nor Russia could have foreseen that he would lead the whole army like victims to the slaughter." He also complained that Gortshakov had left in Perekop 20,000 grenadiers who had done nothing and eventually perished by disease. This defeat took away from the Russians their last hope of retrieving their misfortunes. Their losses during the war had been enormous and were estimated from the official sources at 250,000. It is said that in the six months from March to August 81,000 men had been killed and wounded in and around Sebastopol.

Capture of Kertch.

Russia had suffered a severe defeat not only by land but by sea. On May 21st, under the command of Sir George Brown, a British, Turkish and French division had been sent by sea to the Sea of Azov, accompanied by 34 British ships under Lyons, and 24 French ships under Bruat. On May 24th the troops landed in the neighbourhood of Kertch, which was weakly garrisoned by Wrangel. The Russians blew up the fortifications of Kertch and Yenikale, destroyed their supplies as far as they could, and allowed the allied fleet free entry into the Sea of Azov. Kertch was somewhat disgracefully plundered, and a large quantity of war materials and provisions was captured. The Allies found large supplies of grain and eighty-three cannon, besides several Russian ships, and thus deprived Sebastopol of its principal source of supply.

French Losses in the Brancion Redoubt.

On August 17th a bombardment of the works in the Karabelnaia suburb began; this cost the Russians a loss of from 600 to 1,000 men every day, and made it impossible for them to repair their defences. The French, however, suffered a great loss in the night of August 28th by the explosion of two magazines in the so-called Brancion Redoubt, which lay on the extreme left of their works. This destroyed an enormous amount of gunpowder and shells, and caused great destruction.

Attack on the Malakov.

However, the Allies were now so near the town that the final storm could not be long delayed. Their principal objective was the Malakov Tower, which completely commanded the Karabelnaia suburb, and from which the bridge across the harbour could be easily destroyed. The French were now only about thirty yards from the Malakov Tower and fifty from the Little Redan. The British had harder work, because the ground before them was more rocky, and they were at least 200 yards from the Great Redan. On the other side the trenches were being brought to within sixty or eighty yards of the Flagstaff Bastion and the Central Bastion, which defended Sebastopol itself.

The storm was fixed for September 8th, but the preparatory bombardment began on September 5th, with 635 guns on the French side and 179 on the British. The Russians replied with 1,380 guns. Thirty flying-bridges, made especially strong so that they could be used for the support of artillery, were constructed to cross the ditches. Pélissier ordered the attack to be made in three divisions. MacMahon and Wimpffen were to advance against the Malakov Tower on the left, Dulac and Marolles against the Little Redan on the right, Motterouge and Mellinet against the curtain which joined the two walls. The whole force consisted of 25,300 men arranged in sixty-one divisions. On the Sebastopol side the Central Bastion was to be attacked by Levaillant and d'Autemarre, and the Flagstaff Bastion by the Sardinians and Cialdini, supported by a French reserve, the general command of the whole being committed to General de Salles. The British were to attack the Great Redan, with 10,726 men, Codrington being on the right, Markham on the left, and Eyre and Colin Campbell in reserve.

Capture of the Malakov.

At 11 a.m. Pélissier, accompanied by his staff, took up his position in the Brancion Redoubt, Bosquet being opposite to the Little Redan, Simpson close to the Great Redan, and de Salles close to the Schwartz Redoubt, which lay midway between the Central and the Flagstaff Bastions. At noon the pioneers of the leading regiment, without their ladders, rushed over the ditches, which were filled with ballast, and appeared on the Russian breastwork. The rest of the columns followed, and in a short time, after a brave defence, the outer Malakov works were in the hands of the French. At the same time the Grand Duke Michael's regiment was driven by Vinoy's brigade out of the Gervais Battery on the left. The attack on the Little Redan under St. Pol was at first successful and the Russians were driven out, but they rallied and, supported by strong reserves and assisted by the fire of the forti-

fications and the ships in the harbour, drove the French back into their trenches with considerable loss. St. Pol was killed and so, too, was Marolles, who went to his assistance.

It had been originally intended that the attack should be supported by the allied fleet, but the weather was too stormy to admit of this, whereas the Russian ships in the harbour, the *Chersonesus*, the *Vladimir*, and the *Odessa*, were of great service to their own side.

Failure of the Attack on the Little and Great Redan.

Bosquet now made a new attempt to become master of the Little Redan, calling up the Guards to his assistance. He succeeded in occupying the works, but was again compelled to retreat by the violence of the Russian fire. He then brought into action two reserve batteries of field artillery, but these were silenced by the Russians, and out of 150 gunners ninety-five fell. Bosquet was himself wounded and Dulac took his place. The attack on Sebastopol itself seemed at first to be successful, but Trochu was compelled to retire, with the loss of 900 men out of 3,200 and 71 officers, being himself severely wounded. The Schwartz Battery, which had been at first captured, was retaken by the Russians; a second attack under Levaillant was equally unsuccessful, and a final storm under de Salles himself failed.

The assault of the British on the Great Redan was an entire failure. Markham's division advanced when they saw the French tricolour floating from the Malakov works. But Russian reinforcements soon came up and Codrington's reserve met with a stubborn resistance. The work was taken and retaken twice, but finally remained in the hands of the Russians, therefore the only success of the day was the capture of the Malakov Tower. Todleben tells us that on September 8th the Allies made twelve separate strong attacks, of which this alone succeeded.

Attempt to Recapture the Malakov.

Even so the works connected with it had to be taken against an obstinate resistance, the capture being mainly due to the Zouaves, with whose manner of fighting the Russians were not familiar. In the end only a small body of Russian soldiers and five officers remained in the last vault of the fortress. The French were preparing to smoke them out, but desisted from fear of exploding the mines. When the brave little handful came forth, they were greeted with cheers by their conquerors. The French were already complete masters of the Malakov, when Gortshakov, who had gone to Fort Nicholas, at the mouth of the harbour, gave General Martinau the command of the Karabelnaia and ordered him to recover the Malakov. The Russians fought with distinguished bravery, and Martinau lost his right arm, but the

attempt was a complete failure. The losses on this day were terrible. The French losses before the Karabelnaia were, officers 122 dead, 131 wounded, men 1,475 dead, 2,959 wounded, 369 missing. Before Sebastopol, 154 men and officers were killed, 1,418 wounded, and 546 missing. The British lost 365 dead and 1,886 wounded, the Sardinians four dead and 36 wounded, so that the whole losses of the Allies on this single day were not less than 10,000. According to Todleben the Russians lost two generals, 34 officers dead, 7,750 common soldiers killed and wounded, 37 officers and 1,838 men missing, of whom 600 were taken prisoners in the works of the Malakov.

The Russians Evacuate Sebastopol.

Pélissier was making preparations for a renewed attack when he saw the Russians retreating over the great bridge. Gortshakov, after a reconnaissance in which he was exposed to considerable personal danger, gave orders to evacuate the town. Thirteen Russian sailing-ships were sunk first, and ten steamers eventually suffered the same fate, so that the whole Russian fleet in the Black Sea was destroyed. The Russians also blew up thirty-five powder magazines, three batteries, and Fort Paul, which defended the harbour on one side, but there was no time to blow up Fort Nicholas. The booty which fell into the hands of the Allies was very great; it comprised 128 large and 374 smaller guns, more than 400,000 filled and more than 100,000 empty shells, 500,000 cartridges, more than 500,000 pounds of gunpowder, and a large amount of war material for the fortifications and the ships. Todleben gives the whole of the Russian losses, killed and wounded, as 128,669 men, of whom 102,669 fell in the siege. Among them were five generals and 129 officers dead, 14 generals and 1,626 officers wounded, and 54 missing. But it is possible that the losses are largely understated.

The Total Losses.

The French lost about 45,000 men, over 41,000 in the siege; amongst these 416 generals and officers were killed, 1,543 wounded, and 59 missing. The British lost 17,901 men, of whom 13,000 fell before Sebastopol. Of British generals and officers 157 were killed, and 515 wounded. It has been reckoned that in the siege 1,906,000 cannon shots were fired, of which 1,104,000 came from the French, and 252,000 from the British. The Russians are said to have fired 1,506,964, of which many came from the ships. To the 16,500,000 cartridges of the French the Russians replied with 28,500,000.

The Queen wrote to the King of the Belgians from Balmoral on September 11th: "The great event has at length taken place. Sebastopol has fallen. We received the news here last night, when we were sitting quietly at our table after dinner. We did

what we could to celebrate it, but that was but little, for, to my grief, we have only one soldier, no band, nothing here to make any sort of demonstration. What we did was, in Highland fashion, to light a bonfire on the top of the hill opposite the house, which had been built last year, when the premature news of the fall of Sebastopol deceived everyone, and we had to leave it unlit, and found it here on our return. On Saturday evening we heard of one Russian vessel having been destroyed, on Sunday evening of the destruction of another, yesterday morning of the fall of the Malakov Tower, and then of Sebastopol. We were not successful against the Redan on the 8th, and I fear that our loss was considerable. The daily loss in the trenches was becoming so serious that no loss in achieving such a result is to be compared with that. This event will delight my brother and faithful ally and friend, Napoleon III., I may add, for we really are great friends."

Sebastopol to be Held.

The Emperor himself, although he shared in the general rejoicings, and gave the rank of Marshal to Pélissier, Canrobert and Bosquet, and the title of Duc de Malakov to the first of these, did not lose his calmness of judgment, and knew well that the fall of Sebastopol did not necessarily imply the conclusion of the war. He expressed his views in a dispatch to Walewski on September 14th, in which he said that the month of October must be used to change the front of the Crimean army. The right wing must be moved to compel the Russians to surrender the fort on the north side and their strong position on the Mackenzie Heights. This could be effected by an occupation of Eupatoria, or Simpheropol, or Bakhtchiserai, in the rear of the Russian army. The allied army must then repair the land fortifications in Sebastopol, hold the barricade and the docks, and open the entrance into the great harbour. The mass of the army could then withdraw from the Crimea, leaving a mixed garrison of British, French, and Turks, and a considerable and well-found fleet. It would be a mistake to destroy Sebastopol and to fill up the harbour. If the Allies kept Sebastopol they would have a protection against Russian ambition; from it they could command the whole coast of the Black Sea and strike important blows either in Asia or Bessarabia. In short, they must threaten the Russian rear and restore Sebastopol instead of destroying it.

French Interests Favoured.

There was a great deal to be said in support of the views expressed in this dispatch, although they favoured French rather than British interests, and from this point the policy of the two countries began to diverge. As Great Britain could not expect to have the sole possession of Sebastopol, it was not in her interest

to preserve it at all. However, for the moment, the Emperor's plans received the approval of the British Cabinet; indeed, they were highly praised by Lord Palmerston. They gave prominence to the occupation of Simpheropol, which had been so strongly opposed by Pélissier.

Capture of Eupatoria and Kinburn.

At a later period the real views of Great Britain found practical expression in the entire destruction of the costly works of Sebastopol. In the Crimea itself, however, the Emperor's plan had been supported by Niel, but strongly opposed by Pélissier, who was of opinion that the establishment of the Allies in their present strong position would be more likely to subdue the Russians than a renewed attack. He would only consent to the strengthening of the garrison of Eupatoria and an improved position on the Tchernaia, which would be rather of a defensive than an offensive character. The British, on the other hand, approved of an expedition against Kaffa and the capture of the Russian magazines in Karasubazar, north-east of Simpheropol. Marshal Vaillant strongly opposed the undertaking against Karasubazar, and the expedition against Kaffa was rejected by the votes of a general council of war. Eupatoria, however, according to the views of both Allies was retaken by General d'Allemande and strongly occupied by a whole division of French infantry and a brigade of cavalry. The Allies agreed also to the occupation of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper. The estuary of the Dnieper was defended on one side by Kinburn, and on the other by the fortress of Oczakov, the place which was the cause of so much excitement at the end of the eighteenth century. Kinburn was attacked by an army of French and British 8,500 strong, under the orders of General Bazaine, the allied fleet being commanded by Lyons and Bruat. It was taken on October 17th, after a slight resistance, and the fortifications of Oczakov were destroyed by the Russians. The Allies were satisfied with leaving in Kinburn a small garrison and a few ships.

Change of Commanders.

The new Tsar, Alexander II., determined, with great nobility of character, to proceed himself to the Crimea, where he behaved with sympathetic gentleness to Gortshakov and the other generals, and issued an order of the day calculated to raise the spirits of the army. Both he and Gortshakov were strongly opposed to the surrender of the Crimea. However, on January 8th, 1856, the control of the army and the general charge of the forces of the Crimea were given to Linden, and Gortshakov was deprived of his command. Similarly, Simpson was replaced in the head of the British command by Codrington.

Increase of Allied Forces.

At the same time the allied forces in the Crimea were not diminished, but increased. In the autumn of 1855 they reached the number of 147,000. The war material in the peninsula was of almost incredible extent. On November 15th an explosion took place which killed and wounded many French and British officers, in which 100,000 pounds of gunpowder, 4,000 bombs, and 600,000 cartridges were destroyed, but an adjoining tower with very thick walls which held twice as much was happily spared.

Russians Capture Kars.

In Asia Omar Pasha defeated a body of 10,000 Russians on the banks of the Ingur, and forced the passage of the river. He then advanced to Kutais, but was compelled to retreat. Muraviev made an attempt to capture Erzeroum, and then turned his attention to the fortress of Kars, which was gallantly defended by General Williams. The garrison was closely invested and suffered greatly from hunger, and, as Omar Pasha was unable to come to their assistance, Williams was obliged to surrender the fortress on November 26th. This was the only success of the Russians during the war, but it made it easier for them to make peace.

The Most Useless War of Modern Times.

Curiously enough, Sweden joined the alliance against Russia on November 21st, 1855, but only for defensive purposes, and the mission of Canrobert to Stockholm could not persuade her to adopt a more decisive action. Denmark, on the other hand, had withstood all efforts to include her in the alliance, and her refusal induced the French Emperor to suggest to the King of Prussia the occupation of Holstein, which, however, for the present he declined to agree to.

Thus, at the end of 1855, the bloodiest war of modern times came to an end. It was also the most unnecessary, and has been condemned by the mature judgment of all subsequent commentators. It was not only useless in itself, but it unfortunately broke the halcyon days of peace which Europe had enjoyed for forty years and was the precursor of a long series of political storms which have not yet ceased to agitate the world.

The historian is forced to the conclusion that no war is inevitable, any more than quarrels between individuals are inevitable. They are brought about partly by national passions and partly by the ambitions and follies of statesmen, who for their own purposes fan a spark into a flame and excite feelings of enmity and rivalry between communities, passions which soon pass beyond their control. Yet every experienced Minister is aware that the wars which have taken place are very few compared with those which might have taken place. Not a year passes in which events do not arise that the world knows nothing of, that

remain as the secrets of Chanceries and Foreign Ministers, which might easily produce war if war were desired, and which are constantly with difficulty rendered innocuous. It is not too much to hope that mankind may come to consider that war is a barbarous expedient, unworthy of civilised nations, and that peoples will be so bound together by mutual interest and sympathy that they will not suffer themselves to be drawn into quarrels, or be made the instruments of a statesman's ambition or the cat's-paw of his personal antipathies.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PEACE OF PARIS

MEANWHILE, strong influences were making for peace. The French and Russians had found during the war that no cause for hatred existed between them; that, indeed, it might be some day to their interest to combine against the overwhelming influence of Great Britain. The French Emperor was anxious to maintain the alliance with Great Britain, but he saw that the continuance of the war, which would cost France a great deal more than it would cost Great Britain, could only be compensated for by arrangements to which the latter would probably object. When Drouyn de l'Huys had come to London in March, 1855, to discuss terms of peace, which was then thought possible, he spoke about the restoration of Poland without considering how offensive such an arrangement would be to Austria and Prussia. Great Britain repudiated the idea, as she still had hopes of persuading the two Powers to join the alliance against Russia. Walewski was ordered by the Emperor to make a similar proposal to Great Britain in the following September. The renewed refusal of Great Britain made Napoleon III. more inclined to come to terms with Russia.

Influences for Peace.

At the same time Russia, although willing to treat for peace, did not desire to begin the negotiations. To use an expression of Gortshakov, "She was dumb, but not deaf." Two men, a Frenchman and a German, were found to give the first impulse to negotiations which neither side cared to open officially. These were Count Morny and Seebach, the Saxon Minister in Paris. Morny was an illegitimate son of Queen Hortense and, therefore, half-brother to the Emperor, while Seebach was a son-in-law to Count Nesselrode and had represented Russian interests in Paris during the war. Morny was an unprincipled person who, as we have seen, had taken an active part in the *coup d'état* and had used his official knowledge to make money on the Stock Exchange. He had no scruples about throwing over Great Britain and making suggestions to Russia that there was no reason why the French and Russians should be enemies. He gave out that any limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea need only be of a tem-

French Overtures to Russia.

porary character, and that treaties on this head only lasted as long as the circumstances which had produced them. After all, the very nation which had imposed the conditions might be the first to desire them to be broken. It did not occur to him that the treacherous alliance which he now desired to make might lead to a treacherous desertion when France was in need of Russian assistance.

Austria and the Negotiations.

Austria, although she had taken no part in the war, was anxious not to lose her influence in the negotiations, and on November 14th Buol and Bourqueney proposed an ultimatum to Russia, on the refusal of which she could withdraw her ambassador from St. Petersburg. Great Britain was not informed of this whilst it was under discussion, but it was offered to her to take it or leave it as she pleased. We gather from the Queen's correspondence that she thought the participation of Austria in the war was so important that she did not care to complain of the scant courtesy with which she had been treated. Eventually a proposal was made, under the influence of Austria, that a Fifth Point should be added to the conditions of peace, by which Russia was not only deprived of the mouth of the Danube, but of half of Bessarabia. Esterhazy was to carry these proposals to St. Petersburg, but it was determined that Seebach should go there as well, Napoleon III. personally charging him to express his strong desire for peace. Esterhazy reached the Russian capital on December 26th, three days before Seebach.

Austria represented herself as a mediator, anxious to obtain favourable conditions for Russia, which, if Russia accepted, she would press in Paris and London. The Emperor Alexander did not see things in this light, and demanded the withdrawal of the Fifth Point. Thereupon Austria declared that if her proposals were not accepted she would break off diplomatic relations. The message brought by Seebach from Napoleon III. induced Russia to disregard this threat, and she proposed to submit her interests to a general conference, as proposed by Napoleon III., in which she would probably obtain better terms. In Prussia King Frederick William IV. strongly urged on Alexander the necessity of concluding a speedy peace.

Great Britain Opposed to Peace.

There can be no doubt that the British Government was at this time anxious to continue the war. Great Britain had not come out of the business with any great amount of honour. The French had taken the Malakov, but the British had been repulsed at the Redan. They were not in a position to dictate the terms of a treaty and were in danger of being dragged at the heels of

Austria or France. Palmerston was strongly opposed to peace. The Duke of Cambridge was sent to Paris to confer directly with the Emperor, and on January 10th, 1856, a remarkable council of war was held at the Tuileries at which the Emperor presided. It was attended by Prince Jerome and his son; by Generals Canrobert, Bosquet, Niel and Martimprey; Admirals Hamelin, Jurien la Gravière and Regnault; the Duke of Cambridge; Generals Airey and Jones; Admirals Dundas and Lyons; by La Marmora, Walewski and Lord Cowley. Great Britain pressed strongly for the continuance of the war; the British army was to be raised to 74,000 men, and the Sardinian to 34,000; so that the Allies would have a force of 250,000 men, which they would first employ for conquering the Crimea. It was hoped also that Spain would give assistance.

A Council at St. Petersburg.

Five days later an Imperial council met in St. Petersburg, attended by the Grand Duke Constantine, Dolgorouki, Orlov, Woronzov, Kisselev, Nesselrode and Meyendorff, the Emperor taking the chair. Nesselrode proposed to accept the Austrian ultimatum, otherwise the negotiations with Austria must be broken off, which would mean the renewal of the struggle, with Austria, Prussia and Sweden against them. Russia's strength was not broken, but it would be hard for her to conduct a defensive campaign over a huge extent of territory, since the enemy could choose their own point of attack. Austria and Prussia might be neutral for a time, but would eventually be drawn into the conflict. It had been determined at Paris that the British, with the Sardinians and the Turks, should attack Batoum and Trebizond, while France continued the war on the Danube and in Bessarabia, and the occupation of the Crimea would divide the Russian forces. If the Allies merely blockaded the Russian ports they would do her great injury; the longer the war continued the worse it would be for her. Great Britain had, with difficulty, been persuaded to agree to the Five Points, and if Russia consented to them the coalition against her would be divided. To reject the advances of Napoleon would throw him into the arms of Great Britain; to accept him as mediator would give a new direction to Russian policy. Even if the acceptance of the ultimatum did not bring peace, Russia would have given a proof of her good intentions, thrown the responsibility of the war on the Allies, and deprived the neutral Powers of all ground for action.

The feeling of the council was in favour of peace. It is probable that Nesselrode had arranged matters previously with

the Tsar, and finally the ultimatum was accepted. Paris was chosen in preference to Brussels as the place of congress, as the British Government thought that in this way they would have a more direct influence over the policy of the Emperor. Cavour was disappointed when he heard of the conclusion of peace, but it was difficult to understand why, since the participation of Austria in the war would have made it difficult for France to declare war against her for the liberation of Italy.

Arrangements for Peace.

On February 1st the ambassadors of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia and Turkey drew up a protocol which declared that, in consequence of the acceptance of the Five Points, the Governments now proposed to sign formal preliminaries of peace, to conclude an armistice, and to sign a treaty. For this purpose they should meet in Paris in three weeks or earlier. Great Britain opposed the admission of Prussia to the Congress, and Bismarck, who was then beginning to have influence, was strongly in favour of her maintaining an independent position. Russia, on the other hand, strongly supported the admission of Prussia, whom she regarded as her friend. Great Britain pressed for the admission of Sardinia, and France did not oppose it. Indeed, it was known that the Emperor eagerly desired it, but did not wish by any public declaration of policy to offend the Pope and the French Catholics. Cavour entered the Congress with the plan already formed that Parma and Modena should be incorporated with Sardinia, and that their Sovereigns should receive compensation in the Danubian Principalities.

The Peace Conference.

In the Congress France was represented by Walewski and Bourqueney, Great Britain by Clarendon and Cowley, Austria by Buol and Hübner, Turkey by Ali Pasha and Djemil Bey, Sardinia by Cavour and Villamarina, Russia by Orlov and Brünnow. On February 21st there was a preliminary meeting of the representatives of France, Austria and Great Britain, when it was agreed that the points in dispute with Russia should be first considered, that no concessions should be made to Russia on which the three Powers were not agreed, and that the Sardinians should be admitted to the conference.

The first sitting of the Congress took place on February 25th. The Five Points were formally accepted as preliminaries of peace, and an armistice was proclaimed till March 31st, during which the troops should maintain their present positions. The blockade was to be continued and, indeed, was not raised till April 8th. The early sittings were stormy, and nearly led to the dissolution of the Congress, chiefly owing to the demands of Great Britain,

which asked for the surrender of the Aoland Islands to Sweden and suggested a limitation of the Russian fleet in the Baltic. When Russia's proposal that her surrender of Kars should be conditional on her retaining the whole of Bessarabia was rejected by the Congress, Orlov declared that his instructions were exhausted and that he must leave the Congress. However, the negotiations continued and, by the influence of the Queen, the demands of Great Britain were made less onerous. On March 10th a proposition for the admission of Prussia into the Congress was carried, and on March 16th Manteuffel and Hatzfeldt took their places for the first time.

Conditions of Peace.

The actual Treaty was signed on March 30th, 1856, which happened to be a Sunday. The Catholics rejoiced because the Epistle of the day told how Christ had appeared on the evening of the Resurrection with the words, "Peace be unto you"; but Lord Clarendon wished to defer the signature till the following day, for fear of offending the Sabbatarians. The instrument consisted of thirty-four Articles, three separate Conventions, and a Declaration. The main points were as follows: Russia gave back to the Sultan the town and fortress of Kars, as well as the other Turkish possessions owned by her; the Powers restored to Russia the town and harbour of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesh, Yenikale, Eupatoria, Kertch, Kinburn, and the other places they had occupied; the Porte was henceforth to participate in the European Concert and be on the same footing as the other Powers in public law. The Powers made themselves responsible for the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire, gave a general guarantee of their duties in this respect, and regarded any violation of those conditions as a matter of common interest. In case of a dispute between the Porte and any of the signatories the other contracting Powers were to mediate. The Sultan's firman in favour of the Christians was communicated to the Powers, but did not give any right of interference in the domestic concerns of the Turkish Empire. The Black Sea was to be neutralised. It was to be opened to the merchant ships of all nations, but closed to all ships of war; consuls were to be admitted to the Black Sea ports, both by Russia and the Porte, but no arsenals were to be formed in the Black Sea either by Russia or Turkey. The number of ships necessary for coal traffic in the Black Sea was fixed by treaty and was not to be altered without the consent of the Powers. The navigation of the Danube was not to be subject to any dues or difficulties excepting those fixed by treaty. Russia conceded a portion of Bessarabia, to belong to Moldavia under

the suzerainty of the Porte. The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were to retain their existing privileges under the suzerainty of the Porte, and none of the guaranteeing Powers was to exercise any special protectorate over them. On the other hand, the Porte agreed to give them an independent and national government, with free exercise of religion, legislation, commerce, and navigation; they were also allowed to possess a national army. Servia was to remain in a similar position. Russia and Turkey were to maintain their possessions in Asia as they were before the war. The ratifications were to be exchanged within four weeks.

The Congress Extends its Duties.

After the Treaty had been signed on March 30th, five other sittings took place, at which were discussed the immediate raising of the blockade and the evacuation of the Crimea. In the twenty-second sitting, held on April 8th, Walewski, the President, spoke of other matters which were not connected with the Eastern Question. The Congress, he said, would be sorry not to use the opportunity of clearing up certain questions and dispersing the clouds which darkened the political horizon. Although it was known that Italy was principally in his thoughts, he began with Greece.

Greece Dealt With.

French and British troops had been obliged to occupy the Piræus at a time when they were wanted elsewhere. Even now Greece was by no means in a satisfactory condition. The three protecting Powers should consider the state of that country and take means for improving it. Walewski added that he was sure that Lord Clarendon would agree with him that the Powers looked with impatience to the time when the occupation could be given up, although this could not be done at present without causing serious mischief, unless a real change were made in the condition of Greece. The fact was that France and Great Britain had only determined on this step in order to destroy the influence of Russia. During the Crimean War Great Britain had made up her mind as to the deposition of King Otho, Lord Palmerston desiring to replace him with the Prince of Carignan, who was to marry the Duchess of Parma, and Parma would then come to Sardinia. France and Great Britain had agreed before April 8th that the occupation of Greece should come to an end simultaneously with the French and Austrian occupation of Italy, but to this Russia and Austria would not agree.

Italian Questions.

After Greece came the turn of Italy. Walewski said that the condition of the States of the Church had compelled France to occupy Rome, and Austria to occupy the Legations. France per-

formed the duty both as a Catholic and as a European Power. The Emperor of the French held the title of the Eldest Son of the Church, which forced him to defend the Papal See; but he admitted that there was something abnormal in the position of a Power which required such assistance. France would be glad if the Papal States could be rendered so secure as to dispense with assistance either from Austria or from France. Going a step farther, the President of the Congress asked whether it would not be well that certain Italian States should, by an act of grace, allow such of their subjects to return as might be regarded as mistaken, but could not be considered corrupt, and whether they could not put an end to a system which weakened their authority without punishing the enemies of order. The Government of Naples would be doing a great service if it would declare itself on this point. Walewski concluded by complaining of the unrestrained licence of the Belgian Press, which had attacked France in the most offensive manner.

Lord Clarendon and Italy.

Lord Clarendon said that, regarding it as a sacred duty to evacuate territory occupied during the war, it would be inconsistent not to consider whether occupation existing before the war could not also be put an end to. At the same time, the Congress must not confuse the two duties, which were essentially different. He recommended the secularisation of the Papal Government, which might be difficult to carry out in Rome itself, but would be easy in the Legations. With regard to Naples, Lord Clarendon admitted that, as a rule, interference with the internal affairs of another Power was inadmissible, but there were cases where the exception must become the rule. There could be no peace without justice, and therefore the Congress asked the King of Naples to reform his system of government and to pardon political prisoners who had not been punished or imprisoned by any judicial sentence. He could not agree with the remarks of Walewski with regard to the Belgian Press. Count Buol expressed his objections to any interference with the affairs of Italy, and Manteuffel, in the name of Prussia, also objected to any interference in the internal affairs of another State, and particularly called attention to the condition of Neufchatel.

Cavour and the Congress.

Now came the turn of Cavour. He had already, in February, sent a memoir, expressed in moderate terms, to France and Great Britain about Italy. He considered then that it was not to his interest to disclose his whole plan to the Emperor Napoleon, whom he believed to be devoted to the Pope and the French clergy; he recommended reforms in Naples and the Papal States, although

he knew that their introduction would assist the revolution; and suggested the annexation to Sardinia of Parma, Modena, Ferrara and Piacenza. At the sitting of the Congress on April 8th, he pointed out that the occupation of the Papal States by Austria had now lasted seven years, and assumed every day a more permanent character. It was clear that circumstances had not improved, because in Bologna a state of siege still continued in full severity. The presence of Austrian troops in the Legations and in Parma destroyed political equilibrium, and was a real menace to Sardinia. With regard to Naples, he entirely agreed with the views of Walewski and Clarendon, and thought it in the highest degree necessary to devise measures which, while they tended to appease passion, would make the regular course of affairs in the rest of the peninsula less difficult.

Cavour's Success.

To this Hübner replied that Cavour had spoken only of the Austrian occupation and not of the French, that the towns of Mentone and Roccabruna, which belonged to the Principality of Monaco, were occupied by Sardinian troops, and that the only difference between the two occupations was that the Austrians and the French had been invited by the Sovereigns to whom the territories belonged, whereas the Sardinian garrison in the Principality of Monaco was there against the wish of the Sovereign and remained there in spite of his protest. Cavour replied that he wished nothing better than that both the French and the Austrian occupation should come to an end, but that for Italy the Austrian was by far the more dangerous of the two, because it was based on Ferrara and Piacenza, where the fortifications had been increased in violation of the Treaty of Vienna, and had extended along the Adriatic as far as Ancona. As for Monaco, Sardinia would be happy to withdraw the fifty soldiers who occupied Mentone if the Prince of Monaco were in a position to return to it without the most serious danger.

Cavour had good reason to be pleased with the result of this sitting. He rubbed his hands and said, "Now we are in the saddle." The Italian Question had entered into the domain of practical politics.

Regulations for Maritime Warfare.

The two last protocols, drawn up on April 14th and 16th, had reference to the new regulations about maritime warfare, which were drawn up with reserve, and to a proposal of Clarendon to extend the arbitration of a third Power, which had been already admitted in the case of Turkey and in other international conflicts as well, to be employed before there was an actual recourse to arms.

A TRIANGULAR TREATY

The victorious Powers did not demand any war indemnity from Russia. Indeed, Russia, under the protection of France, was able to make more favourable terms with regard to Bessarabia than those which Austria at first proposed. She lost, however, besides the mouth of the Danube, about two hundred geographical miles of territory, the fortresses of Beni Ismail and Kilia Nova, and the salt lakes on the Danube. Public opinion in Great Britain thought that Russia had been let off too easily. Great Britain, indeed, was still sore about her repulse at the Redan and at the fact that the British army in the Crimea had suffered from disease far more than the French. She felt that in military matters indirectly, and in diplomacy directly, she had been beaten by France. Disraeli very properly denounced this feeling, opposing the principle that wars should only be undertaken with the prospect of important conquests; to hold this view was to lower the status of the defenders of public law to that of gladiators.

France's Diplomacy.

However, on April 15th, the day before the last sitting of the Congress, a Treaty was signed between Great Britain, France and Austria for the defence of Turkey, which was not communicated to Russia. In this Treaty the high contracting Powers guaranteed, singly and together, the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire, as laid down in the Treaty of Paris, signed on March 30th, 1856. Every violation of the provisions of the Treaty would be regarded by the signatories of the general Treaty as a *casus belli*. They would consult with the Porte as to the naval and military arrangements to be made in the furtherance of this object. Later events showed that this agreement did not prevent Russia from tearing up the Treaty of Paris when it suited her interest to do so, and its publication was a sad blow to the illusions of the northern kingdoms with regard to the friendship of France. Nevertheless, for the present all was smooth. The French Empire was at the height of its prosperity. The International Exhibition, held in Paris in 1857, consolidated the glory with which the glamour of a successful war had invested it, and the birth of the Prince Imperial on March 5th seemed to secure the permanence of the Imperial dynasty. It is worth noting that Count Orlov was the first to pay a visit to the Tuileries to offer his congratulations on that auspicious event.

Integrity of Turkey Guaranteed.

In taking leave of the Congress of Paris, which closed one important epoch in European history and opened another, it is well to consider what were the results of the arrangements then made, and what effect they produced. In the first place, any

Effect of the Congress.

hopes which might have been formed with regard to the regeneration of Turkey were never realised. The Treaty by which the Sultan promised to grant religious equality and freedom to all his subjects remained without effect. The neutrality of the Black Sea, which was regarded as one of the principal results of the war, was denounced by Russia during the war of 1870. In 1878 Russia resumed that part of Bessarabia which she had surrendered in 1856, and when she attacked Turkey in that year none of the signatories of the Treaty of Paris intervened in defence of the Porte.

The Emperor Nicholas Justified.

On the other hand, the views put forward by the Emperor Nicholas, which were the origin of the war, have been justified by events. The subject provinces of Turkey have become to a great extent autonomous Principalities, and further progress is likely to be made in that direction. Nicholas proposed that Great Britain should occupy Egypt and Crete—she does occupy Egypt and Cyprus. This was the result of a great war, which, in all probability, cost the lives of not less than 600,000 men. Moreover, we must remember that the Crimean War, contemptible in its origin and useless in its results, put an end to the long era of peace which had been the happy possession of Europe since the wars of the Revolution and the Empire.

The Aftermath of Peace.

In 1859 the French made war against the Austrians for the liberation of Italy, an enterprise only partially successful; in 1864 there was war between Denmark and Prussia about the question of Schleswig-Holstein, a war in which Great Britain came very near to taking a part. This was followed in 1866 by the war between Austria and Prussia for the hegemony of Germany, and then again in 1870 by the great war between France and Germany, the results of which are still with us, and may perhaps lead to other struggles to settle questions yet in dispute. The war between Russia and Turkey in 1878 arose directly from the fact that the arrangements which concluded the Crimean War were not of a satisfactory or permanent character. Wars have taken place in other parts of the world—such as those between China and Japan and between Japan and Russia—but the five wars we have specified were closely connected with that in the Crimea.

War springs, to some extent, from a conflict of ideals. A nation, like an individual, sets a new conception of conduct and policy before itself, and proceeds to carry it out with such energy as may belong to it. It is hardly possible that the ideal can be realised without conflicting with the ideals cherished by other communities, and the result of these conflicts is war. The Crimean

WAR AND ITS EVILS

War shows us not only that one war may be the progenitor of many, but also that there have been few wars with regard to which a judgment may be more confidently pronounced that they arose less from hate and misunderstanding than from coalition and intrigue, were disastrous to all the countries engaged in them, set back the course of civilisation, and never ought to have taken place.

CHAPTER XVII

THE INDIAN MUTINY

The British in India.

IN this history we have said little or nothing about the British Empire in India, which now demands our special attention from the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. In 1815, with which date our present survey began, the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, was Governor-General of Bengal, a title exchanged for Governor-General of India by Lord William Bentinck in 1834 and for Viceroy by Lord Canning in 1858. His main exploit was the last Mahratta War, which began with the suppression of the Pindaris, a group of marauders, who, like "human jackals," as they were called, brought the lives and properties of British subjects into perpetual jeopardy. In March, 1816, the Pindaris made an incursion into the northern districts of Madras, which lasted eleven days and a half. During this time, as Sir William Lee Warner tells us, they plundered 359 villages, killed 182 persons, wounded 305, and tortured 3,603. They spared neither age nor sex, violated the living and profaned the dead. What would the Mahratta chiefs do? Would they assist the British in suppressing these robbers, or would they continue to regard them as allies? This choice Hastings offered to the Mahratta chiefs in Western and Central India.

Hastings leaves India.

Appa Sahib of Nagpur and Baji Rao, Peshwa of Poona, made treaties with the British, and Sindiah was compelled to do the same. The Peshwa, who violated his engagements, was defeated at the Battle of Kirki, and again at Koregaon. Holkar was subdued and the Peshwa was deprived of his sovereign powers. The Pindaris were treated as public enemies, and eventually the Presidency of Bombay was consolidated, treaties were made with the neighbouring States, and in March, 1818, Hastings was able to break up his army. He left India in 1823, having largely increased the British Empire, to the discontent and disgust of the Directors of the East India Company.

His successor, Lord Amherst, was obliged by circumstances to make war with Burma and attack Rangoon. The war, which lasted till February, 1826, was only partially successful. Great Britain gained possession of Assam, and the right to maintain a

Resident at Ava, but the war cost £5,000,000 and thousands of lives.

Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General.

Lord William Bentinck held the office of Governor-General from 1828 to 1835, seven years of comparative peace. He placed the finances upon a better footing, improved the communication by land and coast, suppressed thuggee and dacoity, put down the practice of suttee, or burning widows alive, and improved education. He annexed Cachar and Coorg, and established British influence in Mysore and paved the way for the annexation of Oudh. During his rule, in 1833, the East India Company was given a new Charter, which converted it from an association of traders to the position of rulers of an Indian Empire in trust for the Crown. Bentinck retired prematurely from ill-health, and was succeeded by George Eden, Lord Auckland.

The First Afghan War.

Auckland's rule was marked by the disastrous Afghan War, undertaken from an exaggerated fear of Russian aggression, and continued because Auckland had not the moral courage to abandon an enterprise of which he must have disapproved. In this war we hear of Kandahar, Herat, Ghazni and Kabul, names which became current in the mouths of Englishmen forty years later. We need not dwell on the intricate details of these struggles. One of the most notable episodes was the defence of Herat by Eldred Pottinger for ten months in 1839 against a force of 40,000 Persian troops directed by Russian officers. In July, 1838, a treaty was signed at Simla, with the object of placing Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul and to confirm Ranjit Sing, the head of the Sikhs, in the possession of Kashmir and Peshawar.

The Murder of Macnaghten.

British troops marched from Firozpur and Karachi. Kandahar surrendered without resistance, and Shah Shuja was crowned there on May 8th, 1839. Ghazni was taken by storm, and in August Shah Shuja made his triumphal entry into Kabul. Dost Mohammed fled and surrendered to the British. Auckland should have been content with this success, but he attempted to establish a settled government in Afghanistan by British influence. The mismanagement was conspicuous, as the British did not know the country or the people. Afghanistan is approached by two passes from the plains—the Khyber Pass, a long and difficult defile, leads to Jelalabad, and the Khoord Kabul Pass, much more difficult, bars the passage to Kabul. General William Elphinstone, who commanded in Afghanistan, sent General Sale to occupy the pass to Jelalabad. But the same obvious precautions were neglected with regard to Kabul. The tribes rose, provisions were cut off, and Macnaghten, seeing nothing before

him but starvation, promised to evacuate Kandahar, Ghazni, and Jelalabad, and to leave Kabul in three days, giving hostages for the performance of the agreement. The terms were violated, and Macnaghten was treacherously assassinated at an interview on Christmas Day, 1841. Deprived of food, harassed by treacherous attacks, frozen in the snow, the army dwindled away to a mere handful, and the women and children had to be surrendered to the enemy. The Ghilzais wreaked their vengeance on the remnant of the British army in the passes covered with snow, and, on January 13th, 1842, Dr. William Brydon, the solitary survivor, rode into Jelalabad wounded and exhausted.

Reprisals at Kabul.

Auckland was so much crushed by this disaster that he made no attempt at retaliation. Even though he was aware that the British captives, some of them women and children, were in the hands of the enemy, he let it be known that the Governor-General in Council did not contemplate any great effort for the reoccupation of Afghanistan. He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough in February, 1842, but the reverses continued. Ghazni capitulated on March 1st, and Kandahar narrowly escaped capture. Ellenborough ordered Nott to retire, and Pollock to concentrate on the Indian side of the Khyber Pass. The Governor-General was, however, forced by his subordinates to take more active measures. Pollock was at Jelalabad with 15,000 men, and Nott at Kandahar with 10,000. Napier was summoned from Bombay, and a reserve army was organised on the Punjab frontier. Nott and Pollock arrived at Kabul, Pollock's army first. He marched through the Khyber Pass, joined General Sale, took the city of Kabul, and burned the Great Bazaar to the ground. The European prisoners, 105 in number, were rescued on September 21st, and before Christmas Day Pollock and Nott had recrossed the Sutlej.

War with Sind.

The war with Afghanistan was followed by a war with Sind. It was the old story, which dominated the rise of the British Empire in India, of commercial intercourse leading, first, to the establishment of suzerainty and then to conquest and annexation. The treaties of 1758 led to the capture of Kandahar in 1839, to a payment of a tribute by the Ameers, and to the repudiation of the tribute when the day of disaster came. The recovery of British power in Afghanistan led to the enforcement of it in other places, to the demands for cession of territory, a free passage for British troops and a partial diminution of sovereignty. The lion claims his share because his name is lion. Sir Charles Napier, who was entrusted with the conquest of Sind, had a conscience which revolted from the work he had undertaken. He wrote at the

beginning of the enterprise, "My present position is not to my liking; we had no right to come here, and we are tarred with the Afghan brush," and he admitted that the enemy whom he was ordered to crush were really incapable of opposition.

Annexation of Sind.

Then followed what always happens. The weak, when they discover the disastrous results of their weakness, make a feverish effort to free themselves and put themselves entirely in the wrong. So, when the Ameers realised the real nature of the treaty they had made, they treacherously attacked James Outram in the Residency at Haidarabad. He defended himself as long as he could against a force of 8,000 men, and then joined Napier. There followed the Battle of Meeanee, fought on February 17th, 1843, in which the Hindus were entirely defeated. The Battle of Dubba, on March 24th, completed their discomfiture, and the whole country was annexed. Great Britain's justification for thus taking what did not belong to her was, firstly, the welfare of the inhabitants of the country, although they were probably better judges of which government they preferred than the British were, and, secondly, the treachery of the Ameers. But the march of the Empire was remorseless, and is, indeed, governed by forces which are beyond the control of those who summon it. It was necessary to secure a free passage for troops and communication between Bombay and the Punjab, and the obstacles which stood in the way had to be removed.

Subjection of Gwalior.

The reduction of Sind carried with it the reduction of Gwalior, the Maharaja of which, after a hopeless struggle, submitted on January 13th, 1844, when he had to disband his army. Troops commanded by British officers occupied the magnificent fort, one of the grandest objects in India, but the Maharaja preserved a nominal independence. Peace and order, as they were called, continued till 1857, but in that year a contingent from Gwalior joined the mutineers at Cawnpur, and Tantia Topee, a Brahmin officer in the service of Nana Sahib of Gwalior, raised the standard of rebellion in Central India.

The Sikh War.

Now followed the great struggle with the Sikhs. Ranjit Sing, the head of that nation, had died on June 27th, 1839. After his death, and the death of his son and successor, Kharak Sing, a series of revolutions took place. The army had become insubordinate and disorganised. An infant son, Duleep Sing, became Maharaja under his mother's regency. But the army of 12,000 well-drilled troops usurped the government, and resolved on a campaign across the Sutlej. The British Government had foreseen danger, and moved towards the frontier. The Sikh Durbar

resolved on war on November 17th, 1845. The Sikhs committed the first act of aggression in December by crossing the river near Firozpur, and in the same month Lord Hardinge, by proclamation, annexed all the Sikh country on the left bank of the Sutlej.

Battle of Firozshah.

It was not likely that a warlike and powerful nation consolidated by religious enthusiasm would submit to this. A battle was fought on December 18th, 1845, at Mudki, where the Sikhs attempted to oppose the advance of Hardinge and Gough. Coming up late in the afternoon, the British attacked on the same day and routed the Sikhs, losing about 200 men, among them the gallant Sale, the hero of Jelalabad. This was followed by the Pyrrhic victory of Firozshah. Here the British forces were unable to concentrate, after a long march, until late in a December afternoon. They were immediately attacked, and held their own with difficulty. A night of horror followed, in which the British troops were unable to light a fire, for fear of drawing on them the attack of the enemy's artillery. At the break of dawn, hungry and weary, they again advanced, but were met by a fresh force of Sikhs, 25,000 strong. Ammunition was exhausted, and the fighters dropped down from sheer fatigue; but, by a miracle of British pluck and endurance, the Sikh camp was taken and the hard-fought victory was won, costing the victors 694 killed and 1,721 wounded.

Though the Sikhs continued the contest in confidence and hope, Sir Harry Smith won a brilliant victory at Aliwal on January 28th, 1846, but with considerable loss. This was followed by Gough's triumph on February 10th, 1846, at Sobraon, where the Sikh camp on the Sutlej, connected by a bridge of boats with batteries on the other side of the river, was taken at the point of the bayonet, and nearly the whole of the guns were captured.

Briti Centre at Lahore.

Panic followed, and a treaty was signed at Lahore on March 9th, 1846. The State of which Lahore was the capital was not annexed, but it was diminished by the transfer of Kashmir to Galab Sing and the retention by the British of certain portions. A large force of British troops was quartered at Lahore, and it was there that the Lawrences, Henry and John, laid the foundation of their splendid reputation in civil administration. Their experience and acuteness led them to see danger ahead, but Hardinge was satisfied with his acquisitions, and, when he handed over India to his successor, Lord Dalhousie, on January 12th, 1848, he believed the Sikh territory might be regarded as a peaceful and contented part of the British protectorate.

This dream of security was dispelled by the murder of William Anderson and Vans Agnew at Mooltan, a crime soon avenged by

Herbert Edwardes. Eventually, the Battle of Chilianwala was fought on January 14th, 1849, but it is difficult to determine whether it was a victory or a defeat. During the night the Sikhs recovered the guns that had been taken from them, nearly 700 British dead lay unburied on the field of battle, and more than twice as many wounded, British guns and standards were in the hands of the enemy, and pursuit was impossible. British honour was not avenged until the Battle of Gujrat, fought by Gough on February 21st, in which the Sikhs were worsted with comparatively small loss to the conquerors. On March 12th the Sikhs succumbed at Rawal Pindi, the Afghan contingent flying off discomfited.

The Punjab Annexed.

Dalhousie, against the advice of the Lawrences, and without instructions from home, forced Duleep Sing, who was a mere child, to sign a treaty, and annexed the Punjab, placing the country in the hands of three Commissioners, of whom the Lawrences were two. Duleep Sing received a not very generous pension, and lived in England as a private gentleman. The Queen felt great sympathy for him, and, if her sentiments had been shared by those who directed the policy of the India Office, some trouble and scandal might have been avoided. The Queen wrote of him to Lord Dalhousie in 1854, when the Prince was sixteen years old: "It is not without mingled feelings of pain and sympathy that the Queen sees the young Prince, once destined for so high and powerful a position, and now reduced to so dependent a one by her arms. His youth, amiable character, and striking good looks, as well as his being a Christian, the first of his high rank who has embraced our faith, must incline everyone favourably towards him, and it will be a pleasure to us to do all we can to befriend and protect him." And later in the same year she wrote: "This young Prince has the strongest claims upon our generosity and sympathy; deposed, for no fault of his own, when a little boy of ten years old, he is as innocent as any private individual of the misdeeds which compelled us to depose him and take possession of his territories. He has, besides this, become a Christian, whereby he is for ever cut off from his own people. There is something so painful in the idea of a young deposed Sovereign, once so powerful, receiving a pension, and having no security that his children and descendants, and these moreover Christians, should have any home or portion." The Queen goes on to advise that the pension should be exchanged for a property, on which he might live, which was in fact done.

Dalhousie proceeded with his policy of annexation. After a war with Burma, on December 20th, 1852, he annexed Pegu. He

also extended what was called the "Rule of lapse," a provision exercised previously by Bentinck and Auckland. It laid down that States to which no heir of any kind was forthcoming should lapse to the British Government, but Dalhousie applied it in such a way as not to recognise the law of Hindu adoption, which was regarded by the natives as equivalent to a natural birth. In this way a number of States were annexed which it would have been more prudent and more statesmanlike to leave under the care of their native rulers.

Annexation of Oudh.

Still greater was the error made by the annexation of Oudh. This kingdom was created in 1819, it being agreed by treaty that the Sovereign was bound to govern properly; but there could be no doubt that the worst possible government existed in the country. Dalhousie would have preferred to retain the titular sovereign, while administering the country on his behalf; but if the King refused to consent to this arrangement, a further period of misrule would be inevitable, which would have ended in revolution. The Court of Directors, therefore, informed the King that if he did not voluntarily surrender his authority, he should be deprived of it by force. He refused and was removed, and in 1856 Oudh was annexed. Dalhousie laid down rules for respecting the rights of landed proprietors, conciliating the people, and preserving the servants and retainers of the Court. It was also intended to occupy the province with a sufficient force, but at that moment Dalhousie retired and was succeeded by Canning, so that these arrangements were not in every case carried out. Dalhousie was a great Governor-General. He strengthened the administration of the country in every department, and left it in a sound financial position, with men capablein every part, men who saved the country in the hour of need.

Disregarded Warnings.

Canning became Governor-General on February 29th, 1856. It is the custom for the incoming Viceroy to spend at least a day in Calcutta with his predecessor and discuss with him the situation of the charge which the latter is transferring to other hands. Dalhousie had on this occasion no idea that within fifteen months British supremacy over 150,000,000 natives would be endangered, although warnings had reached him which should not have been disregarded. In his eyes the only possible source of trouble lay in Persia, which had attacked and taken Herat. Canning's first act, therefore, was to declare war and send Outram with a force to Bushire. The Persians soon submitted, and a treaty was signed at Paris on March 4th, 1857. In the meanwhile Canning had made friends with Dost Mohammed, Ameer of Afghanistan,

who had been grievously wronged in the Afghan War, granted him a subsidy, and made a fresh treaty with him.

The Cartridge Scare.

About this time, in the middle of January, 1857, a lascar engaged in the cartridge factory at Dumdum, near Calcutta, asked a Brahmin soldier to let him have a drink out of his *lotah*, or brass pot. 'The sepoy refused on the ground that the *lotah* would be defiled if the lascar drank out of it.' The lascar laughed and said: "You will all soon be biting cartridges smeared with the fat of the cow and the pig." The fact was that the Government of India intended to introduce into the native army a new cartridge smeared with fat. It was the practice to bite off the paper at one end of the cartridge before ramming it down the musket-barrel. No new cartridges had been issued, but the story told by the sepoy spread like wildfire, and the native soldiers believed there was a conspiracy to destroy their caste. About sixteen miles from Calcutta, on the banks of the Hugli, stands at Barrackpur the Viceregal villa, where the rulers of India enjoy a well-earned week-end holiday. On January 26th the telegraph house at Barrackpur was burned down, and on the same day a conversation was heard between two sepoys at Calcutta, that it would be easy to master the arsenal and magazines, kill the Europeans as they slept, and possess themselves of the fort.

The Sepoy Forces.

In May, 1857, the sepoys, or native troops, outnumbered the British troops by nearly eight to one, being 311,038 as against 39,500. Of these 137,580, belonging to the Bengal army, were mainly recruited in Oudh, and, as servants of the Company, had the valuable privilege of securing, through the influence of the British Resident in Lucknow, the right of prompt and fair trial in the native courts, an advantage which none of their fellow-countrymen was able to secure. This had made enlistment in Oudh very popular, and when this privilege was lost by the annexation a deep feeling of discontent was produced, which contributed undoubtedly to the outbreak of the mutiny.

Oversea Service for Sepoys.

Moreover, the more distant wars in which the Government was engaged might necessitate crossing the sea, the dreaded "black water," to pass over which involved a loss of caste; and, in July, 1856, Canning issued a general order providing that every future recruit should be compelled to serve beyond the sea, whether in the territories of the Company or beyond them. This was represented to the sepoys as a deliberate attack upon their faith. Many other changes, merely the inevitable result of civilisation, were hateful to the Hindus. Schools had been opened to all children irrespective of caste, suttee abolished, and slavery

put down; the same laws were applied to the highest and the lowest; while telegraphs and railways were regarded as the works of sorcery and magic. All these things had worked upon the native mind, and the story of the greased cartridges fell like a spark on inflammable material.

The Mutiny Begins.

The first outbreak took place at Barhampur, about 120 miles from Calcutta. On February 26th a parade was ordered for the following day, for which old cartridges were served out, but in paper of a different colour from that to which the troops had been accustomed. The sepoys, violently excited, rose in a tumult and resolved to defy their officers. Colonel Mitchell, who commanded them, rode down the lines and addressed the native officers, telling them that there was no cause for alarm, and that they were to appease the men. But his words had no effect. Before midnight the regiment rose as one man, loading their muskets and shouting wildly. The commandant called the men out, and they promised to return to their lines if he would call back the cavalry and artillery. This was done, and they obeyed. Next day the parade was held quietly, but the excitement among the men continued. The regiment was eventually marched to Barrackpur and disbanded on March 31st.

How Disaffection was Spread.

But before this date the first blood had been shed at that station. On Sunday afternoon, March 29th, 1857, a sepoy named Mangal Purdy, half drunk with *bhang*, was swaggering along the parade ground, calling his comrades to come out. Lieutenant Baugh, hearing of this, mounted his horse and rode to the scene of the disturbance. The sepoy fired and killed the horse, but Baugh rushed up with a pistol, shot at him, but missed him. Baugh was cut down by Mangal Purdy, but saved from death by a Mohammedan. Then the sergeant-major came up, but he, too, was cut down. After this Brigadier-General Hearsey arrived with his son and others of his staff. Mangal Purdy kept shouting to his comrades: "Die for your religion and caste!" The general ordered the guard to follow and rode straight at the fanatic. His son shouted, "Take care of his musket!" upon which Hearsey replied, "Damn his musket! If I fall, John, rush upon him and kill him." However, before the general could reach him, the madman shot himself. His wound, however, was not mortal, and he was afterwards hanged. As a punishment for this outbreak, the whole of the 19th Regiment and seven companies of the 34th Regiment at Barrackpur were disbanded, the men were not allowed to keep their uniforms, but were marched out of the station with every show of disgrace. There were thus turned loose upon the country

500 embittered conspirators, while nearly 1,000 men went back to Oudh to preach disaffection and treason.

The Revolt at Meerut.

A much more serious mutiny took place at Meerut, a station thirty-six miles from Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna. A parade of the 3rd Native Light Infantry had been ordered for May 6th. The ordinary cartridges were issued to the men on the previous evening, but eighty-five troopers refused to receive them. The men were brought before a court-martial composed entirely of native officers, and sentenced to various terms of hard labour, varying from six to ten years. On May 9th the mutineers were marched to the parade ground, stripped of their accoutrements, shackled and ironed, and marched off to the jail, two miles distant. On the following day, which was Sunday, at the time of the evening service, sounds of bugle calls and musket firing were heard, bodies of armed men were seen hanging about, columns of smoke rose, as if bungalows had been fired, and it was known that the native troops had revolted. A rumour had been spread abroad that the rest of the native troops would be treated as the eighty-five prisoners had been, so, when they heard the sound of the tolling bell, the men of the 3rd Cavalry galloped off to the jail to rescue the prisoners. They dragged them out, knocked off their fetters, and brought them back to the regimental lines. When they returned they found that the European officers had been killed by the sepoys.

For the rest of the night the mutinous soldiers, the scum of the population, and the released prisoners were masters of the situation. The authorities were paralysed by the shock and did nothing effective. Bungalows were burnt, wives left unprotected by their husbands were butchered, children were slaughtered under the eyes of their mothers. When day broke mangled corpses lay on the roads, and the sun shone on the blackened ruins of the European houses and their broken and destroyed furniture. The sepoys themselves had marched off to Delhi. There they had gone to the palace of the King, clamoured for admittance, declared they had killed the British at Meerut, and had come to fight for the faith.

The Mutineers at Delhi.

The Palace of Delhi, now called the Fort, is one of the most magnificent buildings in the world, a specimen of Oriental architecture not surpassed even by the Alhambra. The Hall of Private Audience, which once contained the peacock throne, is a dream of beauty. The royal baths rival the masterpieces of Moorish art; and the Pearl Mosque is worthy of its name. The palace was occupied by Bahadur Shah, the titular King of Delhi, who

was twentieth in succession from Akbar. He was now an old man and his power did not extend beyond the citadel. Dalhousie had been inclined to deprive him even of this, as a possible menace to the peace of the country, and Canning had determined that he should be the last to hold the title of King. It is scarcely to be wondered at that he admitted the native mutineers to his palace. Once admitted, they killed all the British they found, Fraser, the commissioner, Douglas, the commandant, Jennings, the chaplain, his daughter, a young lady staying with them, and Hutchinson, the collector. There is no reason to believe that the King sanctioned these murders; indeed he was absolutely powerless.

Bahadur Shah Proclaimed Sovereign of India.

The revolt spread to Delhi itself. The Delhi fort was attacked and its defenders were slain, the office of the *Delhi Gazette* was sacked, the English church was rifled, every European house was attacked, and every Christian found was slain. The cantonments of the native troops were situated on the Ridge, which overlooks the town at a distance of two miles. But the sepoys either refused to obey orders, or revolted and killed their officers. In the heart of the city was the great magazine full of munitions of war. This was heroically fired by British officers, who died in the performance of their duty. The mutiny had triumphed; men, women and children fled to the jungle. At sunset on May 11th, the surviving fifty Christians in Delhi, adults and children, of both sexes, were brought to the palace and placed in a dungeon. Five days later they were led into the courtyard, butchered before an exulting crowd, and their bodies thrown into the Jumna. As a final step, Bahadur Shah, urged by his ambitious queen, was proclaimed Sovereign of India.

Canning's Prompt Measures.

Lord Canning heard of the mutiny at Meerut on May 12th; on May 14th he received news of the seizure of Delhi, and on the two following days of the massacre of the Christians, the flight of the officers, and the proclamation of the Mogul. He telegraphed to Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, to hurry up the troops from that province, to the Commander-in-Chief, to make short work of Delhi, to Sir John Lawrence, Commissioner-in-Chief of the Punjab, to act according to the best of his judgment, and to the Governor of Madras to send his two regiments. He also took the responsibility of intercepting the troops which were on their way from England to China, and diverting them to the service of India. This was a bold and masterly step. But it is scarcely surprising that he did not fully grasp the danger of the situation. His Home Secretary, Cecil Beadon, replied to an offer of the French residents in Calcutta to enrol themselves as special con-

stables, "Everything is quiet within one hundred miles of the capital. The mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has been already arrested, and there is every reason to hope that, in the course of a few days, tranquillity and confidence will be restored throughout the Presidency." Canning had realised the danger of the position to the south of Delhi, but did not understand the strength of Delhi itself, and the difficulty which would be found in conquering it. There can be little doubt that, had he trusted to his own instincts, or listened to the advice of the most capable men about him, many of the disasters which afterwards happened would not have occurred.

Massacre at Gwalior.

As it was, the mutiny spread to Firozpur, to Aligarh, to Mainpuri, and above all to Agra, where, after a mistaken attempt at conciliation, the sepoys of two regiments were disarmed on May 31st. At Gwalior, on June 14th, the native troops broke out into insurrection. They rushed from their lines, murdering every European they met. Seven British officers, the wife of an officer, a nurse, the wife of a warrant officer, three children, and six soldiers were killed. The rest of the British escaped to Agra.

Death of the Commander-in-Chief.

The Commander-in-Chief in India at this time was the Hon. George Anson. He heard of the outbreak at Meerut when he was on his way to Simla. When the news of the catastrophe at Delhi reached him, he interrupted his journey and went to Ambala, which he reached on May 15th. He realised that the most necessary step was an immediate march to Delhi, but he also knew that he had not sufficient troops for the purpose, though both Canning and John Lawrence urged him to take that course. He waited at Ambala until he had dispatched the last of his troops, and set out himself on May 25th, but on the following day he was attacked by cholera and died in a few hours. There is no doubt that if he had lived through the Mutiny he would have made a splendid reputation.

Delhi Invested

Anson was succeeded by Sir Henry Barnard, who continued the march and reached Alipur, twelve miles from Delhi, on June 6th. He left this two days afterwards, and fought a splendid battle at Badli Serai against the mutineers, six miles to the north of Delhi, driving them into the town. Above all he occupied the Ridge, which formed the best possible base of operations against the city, as it allowed reinforcements to come in from the rear, whilst it commanded the plain right up to the walls. Unfortunately, on the very day after his arrival in the camp before Delhi, he was seized with cholera and died on July 5th.

Preparations at Cawnpur and Lucknow.

We must now turn our attention to Cawnpur, Lucknow and Allahabad. At Cawnpur Sir Hugh Wheeler was in command. He realised early the danger of the situation, and resolved to fortify and provision a place, where, if danger should arise, all British and European men, women and children might take refuge until assistance came. He found what he thought a suitable spot in some unoccupied barracks. At Lucknow was the great Sir Henry Lawrence. On May 19th, he was made, by Canning, Brigadier-General, in supreme command in Oudh. He made all preparations for defence, and, on May 24th, moved into the Residency the ladies, the families and sick men of the 32nd Regiment, and the European and Eurasian recruits. On May 27th he wrote to Canning that the Residency and the Mandi Bhavan, a building about half a mile from the Residency, used for the storage of supplies, were safe against any possible attack. No sooner had he completed these arrangements than risings took place all round him, and on June 12th he recognised that the Residency was the only place in the whole country over which he had any real authority. Unfortunately his health gave way, and he had to rely largely on the assistance of others.

Rising at Allahabad.

At Allahabad Simpson was in command. Here the sepoys of the 6th Regiment professed the greatest indignation at the conduct of the mutineers, and volunteered to march to Delhi against them. But a week afterwards they rose in revolt and murdered a number of their officers. They also captured the guns and dragged them into their lines. Fortunately, by the vigorous action of Lieutenant Bragge, the sepoys in the fort were disarmed and the fort was secured. The town, however, and the cantonments were left to the mutineers. The jails were broken open and the criminals let loose, the shops were pillaged, the railway works and the telegraph wires destroyed. Europeans and Eurasians were mutilated, tortured and killed, and the treasury was sacked.

Outbreak at Cawnpur.

On the night of June 4th the long-expected mutiny broke out at Cawnpur. The troopers of the 4th Cavalry burnt the sergeants' bungalows, got possession of thirty-six elephants, plundered the treasury and the magazine, broke open the jail and let the prisoners loose. At Cawnpur was Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa of Poona. He had been very friendly to the British, entering freely into society, but at this time he was resenting his treatment by Dalhousie. His adoptive father had received a large pension from the Government, and had retained the title of Peshwa. The adopted son was allowed to inherit the savings and the landed property of his father, but was deprived of the pension and the

title. This, in the opinion of competent persons, was, if not unjust, at least impolitic.

Nana Sahib Chosen Leader.

It is not quite certain how far Nana Sahib was responsible for the events at Cawnpur. The soldiers who committed the outrages were undoubtedly his, but he had little authority over them, and perhaps could not have restrained them if he had desired to do so. The mutinous sepoys chose Nana Sahib for their leader, and demanded that he should lead them to Delhi. They did march to Kilianpur, seven miles off, but on the following morning returned to Cawnpur, and Nana Sahib pitched his tent in the centre of the station. On June 7th, Wheeler received a letter from Nana Sahib, saying that he intended to attack the garrison, and by June 11th the rebels were firing upon the garrison night and day with three mortars and twelve other guns. During this time Nana Sahib was treated like a sovereign prince.

Bravery of the British Garrison.

The British garrison consisted of 450, armed with six guns. Alone, they could have fought their way to Allahabad, but they had with them 350 women and children, and this fact made it impossible for them to move. They had provisions for four weeks. The casualties were considerable, and the dead bodies were thrown into a well. The siege lasted three weeks. Water was only to be obtained from one source, and that could only be approached with danger to life. Every day was marked with acts of heroism. Wheeler now had only 240 European soldiers, with six guns, to protect 870 non-combatants against 4,000 rebels well supplied with guns and ammunition. The women and children burrowed in holes to escape the bullets and the fall of crumbling masonry. Some died from sunstroke or thirst, others were burnt to death in the hospital. At night, every person in turn was compelled to keep watch. Towards the end of the third week the supply of food became very short. At last, on June 26th, an armistice was proclaimed.

Nana Sahib's Treachery.

Nana Sahib agreed to allow the British to march out with their arms and sixty rounds of ammunition. They should be escorted to the river side, whence boats with provisions should take them to Allahabad. Those who communicated with him found him courteous in manner and full of compassion for the sufferings of the women and children. They set out on the morning of June 27th, and, reaching the river at eight, found forty boats. The embarkation lasted an hour, after which some of the boats pushed off. Suddenly, at the sound of a bugle, fire was opened upon the boats. Nearly all the men were massacred; the women and children were dragged out and lodged in a brick

building near the shore. Here, on July 15th, they were brutally murdered and their bodies thrown into a well close to the house.

Havelock's March to Cawnpur.

On July 7th General Havelock started from Allahabad for the relief of Cawnpur. He had with him 76 artillerymen, 976 English infantry, 18 volunteer cavalry, 150 Sikhs, and 30 irregular infantry. On July 12th he gained a complete victory over the rebels at Futtehpur, and two days later beat them again. They were now twenty-two miles distant from Cawnpur, and heard that their advance would be opposed by Nana Sahib with a force of 7,000 men. But they also heard that 200 British women and children were confined there, and Havelock exclaimed, "With God's help, men, we will save them, or every man of us will die in the attempt." They started early next morning, and a march of sixteen miles, in intense heat, brought them to the village of Maharajapur.

How Havelock Led his Men.

Havelock heard that Nana Sahib was posted in front with 5,000 men and eight guns, in a very strong position, supported on both flanks and in the centre by earthworks and more artillery. He determined to employ a flanking movement. When within eighty yards of the rebel batteries, he gave the order to charge. The North Staffordshire Regiment and the Seaforth Highlanders, on the right, with their pipers sounding the pibroch, advanced under heavy fire in quick time, with sloped arms, until a hundred yards from the village. Then they charged, using the bayonet with deadly effect. After a short halt the line was reinforced, but a large gun on rising ground was doing great mischief. Havelock rode in front and cried, "Highlanders, another such charge wins the day!" They marched on and captured the gun. The rebels now took refuge in a village a mile in the rear. On arriving in front of it, Havelock cried, "Soldiers, who is to take that village, the Highlanders or the 64th?" Immediately the two regiments rushed for the village and carried it without a check. The force again moved on and came unexpectedly upon the enemy, with a twenty-four pounder gun in position in the road. Farther back was a large body of horsemen and infantry in a concave formation, with two smaller guns.

Arrival at Cawnpur.

Havelock told his men to lie down when a twenty-four pounder shot tore through the column. The rebels advanced, with trumpets sounding and drums beating. Havelock's horse had been shot, but he mounted a pony and rode out in front. giving the order, "The longer you look at it, men, the less you will like it; rise up; the brigade will advance, left battalion leading!" The 64th, led by Major Stirling, marched straight on the

gun, and captured it, Lieutenant Havelock, who was aide-de-camp to his father, riding directly up to its muzzle. The rebels gave way, and Havelock's force encamped without food within two miles of Cawnpur. In nine days they had marched 126 miles in the hottest weather and fought and won four battles, as well as other engagements, and had captured twenty-three guns. Next morning they heard that the women and children whom they had hoped to save had been massacred, that four sepoys had been ordered to shoot them through the doors and windows, that some of them refused, and eventually two Mohammedan butchers from the city did the work with swords and knives. Early next day the dead and dying, for they were not all dead, were thrown, as has been said, into an adjacent well.

Death of Lawrence.

In the meantime Sir Henry Lawrence was concentrating his forces in the Residency at Lucknow. On July 1st he had blown up the Mandi Bhavan, the large house before mentioned, and had withdrawn entirely within the Residency enclosure. He had there about 600 British infantry, 89 artillerymen, 100 British officers, 153 civilians, and 765 natives. The position was, from a military point of view, a very weak one. It consisted of a number of private houses, the principal of which was the Residency, roughly joined together by mud walls and trenches. It was exposed to the rebels' continuous fire, which included shells, sent hissing into the Residency. By one of these shells Sir Henry Lawrence was wounded on July 2nd, and died on July 4th.

The March on Lucknow.

The defence was continued under Banks and Inglis. After some of the outlying houses had been destroyed, the rebels made their general attack on July 20th. They were triumphantly repulsed at four in the afternoon. On July 21st Banks was killed, and there was no one to replace him. On July 25th news reached the beleaguered garrison that Havelock was advancing to their assistance from Cawnpur, and would arrive in five or six days. He, however, had great difficulites to contend with, which delayed him. Cawnpur must be held in his absence, and for this purpose he had built a fortification commanding the river; this held 300 men, and he entrusted it to the command of Neill. Havelock crossed the river on July 25th, and three days afterwards was ready to move. He had with him a small force of 1,500 men, of whom about 1,200 were Europeans, 60 volunteer cavalry, and 10 field-pieces. The distance he had to traverse was over forty miles. On July 29th he fought an engagement with the rebels, in which, although he defeated them, he lost considerably, and was

obliged to return to his base. On August 4th he marched forward again, once more defeated the rebels, but was again forced to return to Cawnpur, convinced that he could do no more unless he received reinforcements. He recrossed the Ganges on August 13th.

Persistent Rebel Attacks.

Three days before this the rebels made a second attack upon the Residency, which lasted twelve hours, and on August 18th a third attack in full force. On August 28th a letter was received from Havelock, telling them that he had no hope of being able to relieve them for five-and-twenty days. On September 5th the rebels made their fourth and last attack, but were again defeated. On September 22nd the exhausted garrison received news that help would certainly come within a fortnight.

Outram and Havelock.

However, the situation developed on lines which neither the besieged nor the relief force could foresee. On August 13th Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta, and his first object was to march to Cawnpur and then relieve Outram and Havelock. The former had been sent to Cawnpur, where, as the superior officer, he would have superseded Havelock, and he arrived at that city with much-needed reinforcements on September 16th. He determined not to deprive Havelock of the credit of relieving Lucknow, and issued a letter declaring that, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deed of arms achieved by Brigadier-General Havelock and his gallant troops, he would cheerfully waive his rank and accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, tendering his military services as a volunteer. This offer was accepted by Havelock, who now had a force of 3,179 men, all told. By heroic efforts this force, under Havelock and Outram, at last reached Lucknow. The losses were very heavy, and, after all, Lucknow was not relieved, but reinforced. Outram, who now assumed the command, thought that it would be possible to reach Cawnpur, but it was certain that the women and children could not have been withdrawn except at tremendous risk. It had cost 500 men to get into the Residency unencumbered: how many would it cost to get out? Therefore, the two brave men had to stay till they were relieved by a superior force.

Siege of Delhi.

Delhi was now the centre of the situation. Here a British force of 4,500 effective men maintained its position in the face of a large army of rebels, whose numbers varied from 30,000 to 50,000. On August 14th John Nicholson brought up a force of 1,600 infantry, a battery of artillery, and 200 cavalry. The arrival of siege-guns a month later rendered an assault possible. The siege of Delhi had continued since June 8th, on which day

Barnard had taken possession of the Ridge from which the siege was to be conducted. On this Ridge a comparatively small force of Europeans and Ghurkas, who were still loyal, had to construct its defences exposed to a burning sun, repelling assaults by day and night, subject at all times to a deluge of shot and shell from the works of the city. At the same time the rebels received constant reinforcements as the spirit of mutiny spread from place to place, and each arrival of reinforcements was the signal for a new general sortie. In two of these, on July 9th and July 14th, the British lost 468 killed and wounded out of a force which then numbered only 5,367 men. Besides this, disease was rife in the besiegers' camp. Many died of cholera and sunstroke; but when the rains began and the heat became less severe matters did not improve, and on September 6th there were 2,800 men in hospital.

Assault on the Kashmir Gate.

Reinforcements had increased the force under Wilson to 8,748 men, of whom 3,317 were British. After a good deal of hesitation he decided on an assault which, after breaches had been made by a bombardment, took place on September 14th. The columns of assault were drawn up at three o'clock in the morning, and every one who took part in the operation knew that the fate of India depended on its result. As day dawned, the columns advanced and took up their position. The most difficult operation was the taking of the Kashmir Gate. This was entrusted to a forlorn hope, led by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld. Each member of it carried a bag containing about 4 lb. of gunpowder. They crossed the ditch by a gate which was fortunately open, and reached the great double gate which was the object of their attack. The enemy, paralysed by their audacity, for a moment ceased to fire. Home and Salkeld attached the bags to the gateway, and then attempted to escape; Home leaped into the ditch, but Salkeld was shot in the arm and leg and was disabled, dying a few days later. Burgess tried to light the fuse, but was shot dead. Carmichael did light it, but was mortally wounded. Next moment, a terrible explosion took place, and the great gate was shattered. Sergeant Smith and Bugler Hawthorne alone survived, and both received the Victoria Cross.

Death of Nicholson.

Campbell pressed on with his men and reached the great mosque, the Jumma Musjid, but, not being supported, had to retire. Another victim of the assault was the gallant John Nicholson. He resolved to attack the Lahore Gate, a work of the greatest danger. While ordering a third attack, he was pierced by a bullet before the men could respond to his order. He still called upon his men to go on, but this had become

impossible. There was nothing to be done but to retire to the Kabul Gate. He lingered for eight days in agony, and died with an unrivalled reputation at the age of thirty-seven.

Capture of Delhi.

The first day's assault was not very successful, but a solid base had been acquired for future operations. Yet the cost had been enormous—sixty-six officers had been lost and 1,104 men killed and wounded. In the following days, in spite of the stubborn resistance of the sepoys, ground was gained step by step. The magazine was taken on September 16th, and on September 21st Wilson took up his quarters in the Imperial palace. The King had fled and had taken refuge in the tomb of Humayan, three and a half miles from the city. Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, received permission to bring in the old sovereign, providing his life was spared, and this was successfully done. Two sons of the King, however, and a grandson were still at liberty. Hodson was again allowed to fetch them, but no stipulation was made about their lives. They surrendered, dismissed their followers, and rode towards Delhi in a native cart. In a sudden panic, Hodson made them dismount and shot them with his own hand, a most unnecessary act of bloodshed, and an indelible stain on himself and the country he served. No sooner was Delhi captured than a force was sent under Greathed, consisting of about 1,000 British and 2,000 native soldiers, to open the country between Delhi and Agra, and eventually to reach Cawnpur. Agra was relieved after a severe engagement, and Hope Grant, who superseded Greathed, reached his destination on October 26th.

Colin Campbell's March on Lucknow.

As we have already said, Colin Campbell arrived at Calcutta on August 13th. On October 27th he had completed his arrangements and started for Allahabad, where he arrived on November 1st. He set out for Cawnpur next day, and reached it the day afterwards. He found things by no means in a satisfactory state. Even the road by which he had marched was not at all safe. He felt it dangerous to march to Lucknow, but the need was so pressing that he determined to risk it. Six weeks had now elapsed since the arrival of Outram and Havelock. During this time the garrison had made numerous attacks, the effect of which was somewhat to reduce the desultory fire of the rebels. On October 9th the garrison heard of the capture of Delhi and Greathed's march. They realised that Colin Campbell would come to them in a few weeks. Outram communicated with him by means of a clerk in a public office named Kavanagh, who, disguised as a native, found Campbell, and gave him such information as enabled him to mature his plans.

THE FIGHT AT LUCKNOW

Plan of the Attack.

To relieve Lucknow and withdraw the garrison and the British in the Residency was an operation of great difficulty and danger. At first Campbell contented himself with getting into communication with the Alambagh, which had a garrison of 430 British; when this had been effected he found he had a force of about 4,700 men. These he divided into six brigades—the Naval Brigade, under William Peel; the Artillery Brigade, the Cavalry Brigade, and three others, Hope Grant directing the operations.

It would have been madness to attack the city in front, where the way lay between narrow lanes, fortified and stoutly defended, so he determined to swing round to the right, march in a wide curve through open ground, and seize Dalhousie Park, a large open garden surrounded by a wall 20 feet high, which lay about two miles from the Residency. He could use this as a base of operations and pass round to the north of the city. But before he reached the Residency he would have to take a number of strong posts, the most formidable of which were the Secundrabagh and the Shah Najah Mosque.

Bombardment of the Secundrabagh.

Making a feint to his left to draw the attention of the rebels in that direction, he marched to his right, occupied Dalhousie Park without difficulty, and afterwards the Martinière College. Here the troops bivouacked, and next day, November 15th, was spent in preparation. Early in the morning of November 16th he moved forward to the attack of the Secundrabagh. A murderous fire opened upon the troops, but they gained their ground. Then the guns were swung round and, within musket-shot of the crowded walls and under a tempest of pellets, opened a heavy fire on the place, the infantry lying down out of sight to wait the moment of assault. Campbell had given orders that, in the assault, they were to keep together in clusters of three, and to rely on nothing but the bayonet. The central man was to attack and his companions right and left were to guard him. Campbell himself stood by his guns, watching the cannon-balls tearing down the works, which were immensely thick. It took three-quarters of an hour to make a breach, and it was difficult to restrain the men.

At last the hole was considered large enough, and the Sikhs and the Highlanders rushed for it at full speed, each straining every nerve to reach it first. A Sikh ran forward, leaped through the aperture, and was shot dead as he sprang; others, however, say it was a Highlander. The Secundrabagh was held by four strong sepoy regiments, amounting to 2,000 or 2,500 men, who had all been well seasoned in the British service. After the walls had been passed, the fight within the building continued

for two hours, and not a single one of its defenders was spared; they were all killed, the British losses being comparatively slight. After the Secundrabagh, came the Shah Najah, a great mosque with a high loopholed wall, defended by trees and enclosures of different kinds. Against this Peel led the attack and opened fire within twenty yards of the wall. After three hours' firing he had not succeeded in piercing it. Night fell, but the place must be captured, as retreat was impossible. At last a breach was discovered at the north-east corner by Sergeant Paton, who entered the place without opposition. A rush was made to it, and when the enemy saw that their position was no longer tenable they fled like sheep.

Death of Havelock.

After this terrible work the troops were exhausted and the muskets had become so foul that it was impossible to load them. However, on the following day, the task was resumed. The first building to be attacked was the Mess House. A Union Jack, hoisted as a signal to the Residency, was shot down. In the meantime, Outram had been pressing forward to join the rescuers, and late on a November afternoon Campbell, Havelock and Outram met on the slope outside the Mess amidst a murderous fire from the Kaiserbagh. Lucknow had now been relieved with a loss of 45 officers and 496 men. But it was necessary to evacuate the Residency and to carry off in safety 600 women and children and more than 1,000 sick or wounded men. Yet so adroitly was this done that the mutineers were pounding the Residency with shot for at least four hours after it had been completely deserted. However, the rescued party did not reach the Dilkusha till November 22nd. On November 24th Havelock died of dysentery and was buried in the Alambagh. On a tree near the grave the letter "H" was roughly carved, and a stately obelisk now marks the spot.

Campbell's Successful Campaign.

On November 27th Campbell started for Cawnpur, where Windham, who had been left in command, was seriously defeated by Nana Sahib and Tantia Topee. Campbell was not able to attack the rebels till December 1st, and did not reach Cawnpur till the end of the month. Again the garrison had to be removed, and for thirty-six hours the procession of sick and wounded, women and children, guns and baggage, moved slowly across the bridge and eventually reached Allahabad in safety. After this, Campbell, with 5,000 men, brilliantly defeated the rebel army, numbering 25,000, including the Gwalior contingent of 10,000 men. He captured all their baggage and thirty-two guns, and sent them flying in all directions. His own loss was only 99 killed.

ATTACK ON LUCKNOW

When Delhi was taken, on September 21st, 1857, the mutiny might be considered at an end, but Lucknow still remained to be captured. On November 26th Outram had been left in the Alambagh, with between 3,000 and 4,000 men, twenty-five guns and howitzers, and ten mortars. He occupied a position across the Cawnpur road, defended by batteries, trenches, and abattis. For about a month the rebels made no attempt to disturb him, but at the beginning of 1858 they became more active, and in the latter half of February made several attacks, all of which were repulsed. Outram's force never exceeded 5,000 men, but opposed to this the rebels never had fewer than 120,000 men, 27,000 of whom were trained sepoys and 71,000 trained cavalry.

The Rebels' Position at Lucknow.

The city stretched along the left bank of the Gumti for more than five miles, being more than twenty miles in circumference. The strongest position held by the rebels was the Kaiserbagh, a palace about 400 yards square. In addition to this they had constructed three lines of earthworks, the first along the side of the canal, the second ending at the Mess House, the third crossing the flank of the King's palace. Campbell's plan was to attack in two directions, to throw a bridge across the Gumti, and to place heavy guns on the north bank, which should attack with overwhelming force the Mess House, the Secundrabagh, and the Residency, which were held by the sepoys. This was the right attack. The left, led by Napier, was to cross the Dilkusha bridge and fight its way up to the Kaiserbagh and the Residency, always supported by the flanking gunfire of Outram.

Opening of the Attack.

Campbell began his operations on March 3rd. The entrancing appearance of Lucknow on that fateful morning has often been described. Palaces, minarets, domes, orange and golden cupolas, colonnades, long façades of fair perspective in pillars and columns, terraced roofs, rose up amidst a calm ocean of the brightest verdure. The bridge across the Gumti was completed by midnight on March 5th, and the troops were crossing at four in the morning. On the evening of March 6th Outram encamped about four miles from the city, and on March 9th made his spring. He found that he had approached the sepoys' batteries from the rear, so that they were of no use whatever. After a heavy cannonade he stormed the Chaker Kothi, a yellow house, which was strongly held by the sepoys. Campbell advanced at the same time, and next day the two divisions were in complete touch. On March 11th Outram carried all the positions leading to the Residency, and established batteries close to it. Campbell, on March 11th, occupied the Secundrabagh and the Mosque, but

found himself stopped by the Begum's house. In the storm 600 sepoys were killed. On March 14th the Kaiserbagh was taken by a spirited attack. It is scarcely to be wondered that the soldiers were drunk with plunder. They streamed through court after court, piled up with embroidered clothes, gold and silver brocade, arms inlaid with jewels, priceless pictures and vases.

Capture of Lucknow.

Unfortunately, a great blunder was now made. Outram asked permission to cross the main bridge and cut off the rebels who were escaping. He was told he might cross, but was not to do so if he would lose a single man. Of course, he must have lost men, but the later pursuit of the rebels who escaped caused a far larger loss of life than would have been occasioned by crossing the bridge then and taking the rebels in the rear. Also, by a mistake of judgment, Outram allowed a body of 20,000 sepoys to escape through a gap in the British lines, and in this way, as Lord Roberts said, the campaign which should then have come to an end was prolonged for nearly a year, in consequence of the fugitives spreading over Oudh and resisting till the end of May, 1859, thus involving the loss of thousands of British soldiers. The Residency, which the sepoys had tried in vain to carry for more than eighty days, was now taken by the British in as many minutes. In this brilliant manner Lucknow was captured after less than fourteen days' fighting, with a loss of only 125 officers and men killed, and less than 600 wounded.

Escape of Nana Sahib.

The fall of Lucknow was followed by a campaign in Rohilkhand. In Central India Sir Hugh Rose, starting from Mhow, demolished several forts, defeated the rebels before Jhansi, and took that city by storm. He also recaptured Gwalior, which had been seized by Tantia Topee. This notorious rebel was at last cornered and captured in April, 1859. The last struggle was in Oudh, against the forces of Nana Sahib and the Begum. It is said that Nana Sahib escaped to the jungle of Nepal, where he possibly died a miserable death. But there are some who think that he was alive long afterwards. On January 27th, 1858, the King of Delhi was brought to trial in the Privy Council Chamber of the Palace, charged with making war against the British Government, and was sentenced to be transported for life. After some time he was sent to Pegu, where he died in peace.

End of the East India Company's Rule.

The Mutiny demonstrated that the relations of India to the British Empire must be radically changed, and that it was no longer possible to leave the government of the greatest dependency of the British Crown in the hands of a trading company. An Act of Parliament for transferring the administration of India from

the East India Company to the Crown was passed without much opposition, and received the royal assent on August 2nd, 1858. Consequent upon this, the Queen issued a proclamation declaring the principles upon which she intended in future to govern the country. She informed the native Princes that all treaties in force with them would be scrupulously maintained, that she would respect their rights, their dignity, and their honour as her own; that she would sanction no encroachment on the rights of any of them; that the obligations which bound her to her other subjects would bind her also to them. To the natives the proclamation promised complete liberty in matters of religion, and, so far as might be, office was thrown open, without question of religion, to all such persons as might be qualified for it by education, ability and integrity. The Queen said that in framing and administering laws due regard should be paid to ancient rights, usages and customs; that those who had taken part in the Mutiny should be treated with clemency, and that unconditional pardon should be given to all who submitted before January 1st, 1859. This proclamation, published on November 1st, 1858, was regarded everywhere as the charter of the new regime. Addresses poured in from every part of India—from Hindoos, Mohammedans and Parsees, expressing their gratitude, loyalty, and devotion. The British members of the Indian army were not equally complacent, but resented being made forcibly part of the British army, instead of continuing to serve the Company. Eventually they were allowed to choose between the two, and about 10,000 took advantage of this permission.

Canning's Judicial Administration.

The events of the Mutiny aroused a bitter desire for revenge, both in Great Britain and in India, and cruel measures of retaliation were demanded which would only have perpetuated ill-feeling between the two countries and stained the honour of the British name. Canning, who had from the first set himself to moderate these sentiments, now did his best to restore the civil administration, and to gain the confidence of the native chiefs. The country was in a deplorable condition, famine having devastated villages and emptied cities of their inhabitants. Canning made a new departure in the relations between the British Government and the chiefs by agreeing to their customs of adoption and succession; this removed an ancient grievance, and ensured the continuance of native rule. The dread of annexation under the "rule of lapse" was removed, and at the same time the chiefs were charged with the responsibility of active loyalty to the Crown. The British Government and the native chiefs were to

co-operate together for the benefit of the country which they ruled side by side. Great Britain remained suzerain, but native rule was to be perpetual so long as the chiefs remained true to their engagements. At the same time, residents were established at the different native courts, to give friendly advice, to correct grave abuses of power, to maintain peaceful succession, and to ensure the continuance of the reign of law and justice.

Calm After the Storm.

So far as India was concerned, the transference of the governance did not produce any striking changes, nor was it felt as a violent alteration. The new masters at home merely continued the authority of the old. The place of the Court of Directors and Proprietors and the Board of Control was taken by the Secretary of State for India, assisted by a Council. Unity of government was secured by giving the Secretary of State power to overrule his Council in most matters; in some others, such as appropriation of revenue, he represented a majority of the votes. At the same time, he could, on his own responsibility, give orders regarding foreign affairs and other secret matters with which the former Secret Committee used to deal. Annual reports on the moral and material progress of each province were laid before Parliament. Indeed, the statute which transferred the government to the Crown may be regarded rather as an enabling and continuing Act than as the establishing of a new order of things.

Before Lord Canning left India he had done much besides suppressing the Mutiny. He had defined the legislative authority of the Government of India in respect both of Parliament and the Councils of Madras and Bombay. Power was taken to establish Legislative Councils in Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab, and provision was made for the codification of Indian Law. He also placed the finances of the country on a secure basis. The year 1860–1 saw a deficit of £4,000,000, but this was the last. Canning reduced the expenditure by £5,000,000, and so made the two ends meet. The Mutiny was not followed by any serious military operations, and Canning left the country, on March 12th, 1862, in a condition of prosperity and peace. He was followed by Lord Elgin, who had no chance to show his policy because he died of heart failure on November 21st, 1863. To succeed him, John Lawrence, one of the heroes of the Mutiny, was appointed, and held the office from January 12th, 1864, till its natural termination in 1869.

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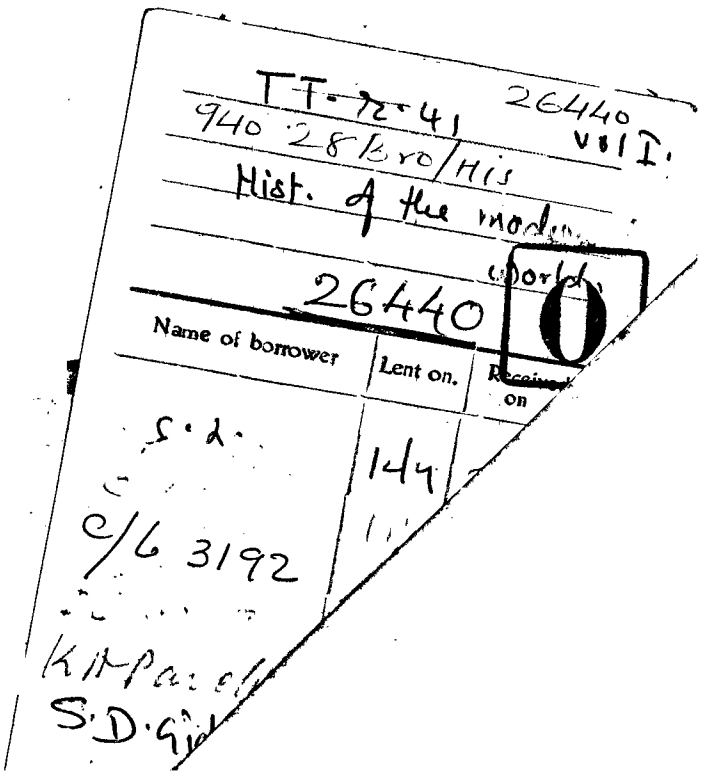

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